TZOTZIL GRAMMAR

[inside front cover]

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TZOTZIL GRAMMAR

by

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The present monograph, Tzotzil Grammar, is the second volume in this series which treats Mayan languages, re: Mayan Studies I, #5. In contrast to #5 which offered a collection of studies on various Mayan languages, i.e., Cakchiquel, Ixil, Jacaltec, etc., Tzotzil Grammar deals only with speech form currently in use by some 65,000 speakers in the area around Huixtan, Chiapas, Mexico. Miss Marion Cowan has had ten years experience among the Huixtecos; her fluency in the idiom as well as her linguistic field work, translation, and literacy efforts in the area, has given her materials that authentic ring of mature judgment. William E. Merrifield has taken the results of Miss Cowan's studies and cast them in a linguistic model which depends upon Pike's hierarchical structures and, as well, upon the stratificational model of Lamb. The linguistic strata represented in this volume reflect the model presented at S.I.L. courses, the University of Washington, Seattle, by Mr. Merrifield and others of his collegues.

Dow F. Robinson
Tlalpan, Mexico
June, 1968

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FOREWORD

Miss Cowan is a member of the Mexico Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), Inc. The purposes of SIL are well known, but in general they are directed toward those languages of the world not yet reduced to writing. These languages are studied, speaking ability is acquired, alphabets are established, literacy materials are prepared, and so forth. In the course of such study, which presupposes linguistic training, information is acquired concerning the structure of these languages which is of general scientific interest.

In view of the vast numbers of languages which fall within the domain of SIL concern, the difficulty of training sufficient numbers of linguistic field workers can well be appreciated. The appearance of this study of Tzotzil would seem to give testimony to a degree of success in this regard, inasmuch as Miss Cowan may be considered a typical product of the SIL training program.

This training program consists of two summers of linguistic training at one or another of its Summer Institutes. The linguistic training is supplemented by a course to prepare the field worker for primitive (rural or jungle) living conditions. Such courses are held regularly in Mexico, West Africa, and New Guinea. The training then continues in the field through an organized consultant program and system of workshops.

Miss Cowan, a Registered Nurse, began her fieldwork in Mexico after receiving her SIL linguistic training. She has since served as a staff member in the Mexico jungle camp program as well as supporting staff in one of the Summer Institutes. Before settling among the Tzotzil of Huixtán, she did literacy work among the Chol, Tzeltal, and San Andres Tzotzil. In addition to her Huixteco assignment, she is presently a literacy consultant to her colleagues working in Mayan languages.

This study is based on her initial SIL linguistic training, her speaking ability of Tzotzil, and three SIL linguistic workshops. The first of these workshops was a part of the 1961 Linguistic Institute held on the campus of the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Viola Waterhouse was her consultant at that time. The other two workshops were held in 1966 and 1967 at the SIL Centro Lingüístico Manuel Gamio in Ixmiquilpan, Mexico, where it was my privilege to direct her study.

Her grammar is framed in terms of a theory which recognizes language (and languages) as having three modes or components—as well as a means of relating the components to one another. Each component is constituted

of units which combine in restricted and hierarchical fashion. A description of one such component must inevitably include a classification of its units and a description of their patterned arrangements.

The components are conceived of as ordered in relation to one another, the syntactic component being intermediate to the other two. Two relations are thus required: that between the phonological and syntactic components, and one between the syntactic and semantic components.

The relation between units of adjacent components has been accounted for in two steps. Statements such as "A pronoun occupies Position One of the verb phrase nucleus if..." (6.1) serve to place units of one component (in this case the semantic component) 'in position' in the adjacent component; that is, they state the conditions under which such units are related to those of the adjacent component in particular positions within the set of patterned arrangements (or constructions) of the latter. A second set of statements such as "SUBJN is realized morphophonemically as the null element when..." (2.3) provide 'the spellings' for a unit of one component (in this case the syntactic component) in terms of the adjacent component.

Although framed in terms of a theory with formal and generative implications, this study of Tzotzil grammar is presented in straightforward prose (as indicated in the preceding paragraph) with a minimum of formal rules of the type so common in current studies. Miss Cowan has tried to write a grammar which someone might wish to sit down and read, a lamentably uncommon exercise even for linguists these days. An earlier and more formal statement of a portion of Tzotzil grammar using the same theoretical framework can be found in Cowan and Merrifield, 1968; and further discussion of the framework itself may be found in Merrifield, 1967.

For the most part, this study is limited to a description of the syntactic component of Tzotzil. In a few instances, however, reference is made to the semantic component and a few statements are made relating it to the syntactic component. A partial statement of the relation between the syntactic component and the phonological component is also attempted (11).

William R. Merrifield
Coordinator of Linguistic
Research in Mexico

Centro Lingüístico Manuel Gamio
May 8, 1968

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Tzotzil Language. According to McQuown (IJAL 22:191-5), the Tzotzil speak a lowland Maya language of the Tzeltalan sub-group. They live in the central mountainous region of the State of Chiapas, Mexico, and number about 65,000 speakers. There are seven main dialects of Tzotzil, all mutually intelligible to a high degree. This study is based on the eastern dialect which numbers about 8,000 speakers according to the official 1960 census. (The dialect is also referred to as Huixtec Tzotzil.)

Recent studies of Tzotzil include the following:

COWAN, Marion M.

1960 "The Translation of Questions into Huixteco," The Bible Translator 11:123-125.
1963 "Huixteco Translation Problems," The Bible Translator 14:90.
1965 "Exclusive-Inclusive in Huixteco Matthew," in John Beekman, Ed., Notes on Translation with Drills. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, pp. 169-173.
1966 "Differences of Points of View," in Notes on Translation 20:7-11. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
1966 "The Translation of Jew, the People, and Israel in the Book of Acts," in Notes on Translation 20:11-16. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

COWAN, Marion M. and William R. MERRIFIELD

1968 "The Verb Phrase in Huixtec Tzotzil," Language 44:284-305.

DELGATY, Alfa.

1961 "Notes on Dependent Versus Independent Nouns in Tsotsil," in A William Cameron Townsend en el vigésimoquinto aniversario del Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. México, D.F., pp. 413-9.

DELGATY, Colin C.

1960 "Tzotzil Verb Phrase Structure," in Mayan Studies I. Norman, Okla: The Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, pp. 81-125.

JACOBS, Kenneth and Robert E. LONGACRE

1967 "Patterns and Rules in Tzotzil Grammar," Foundations of Language 3:325-389.

SARLES, Harvey

1966 A Descriptive Grammar of the Tzotzil Language as Spoken in San Bartolomé de los Llanos, Chiapas, México. Unpublished University of Chicago Doctoral Dissertation.

WEATHERS, Nadine

1947 "Tsotsil Phonemes with Special Reference to Allophones of B," International Journal of American Linguistics 13:108-111.

1950 "Morphological Analysis of a Tzotzil (Mayan) Text," International Journal of American Linguistics 16:91-98.

A major hiatus in the study of Tzotzil is a more complete analysis of the phonology than is found in Weathers, 1947. In particular, study needs to be made of such 'higher-level' phonological units as word, phrase, and so forth. In the present study seventeen consonants and five vowels are recognized:

stops: b, p, p', t, t', k, k'.
spirants: s, š, x.
liquids: l, r.
nasals: m, n.
semivowels: v, y.
laryngeal: ʔ
vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

The affricates c, c', č, and č' are treated here as sequences of t or t' and s or š. This treatment simplifies the statement of phonemic realization of morphophonemes, but I prefer to reserve judgment as to their phonemic status—as units or sequences—until a more complete phonological study can be made.

In addition, two levels of stress have been noted, word stress and phrase stress. Word stress is usually indicated by an acute accent (´), and phrase stress is left unmarked. In a few cases, however, where phrase stress is particularly relevant to a grammatical form, it is marked by an acute accent and the preceding word stress is indicated by a grave accent (`). Word stresses have their source in the lexicon, all roots being stressed. Phrase stress rests on the final syllable of a phrase, but needs to be studied further before more can be said about it.

1.2. Illustrations. Illustrative material is presented in various ways throughout this study. In some cases, superscript numerals are used to key Tzotzil forms to an English gloss; in others, the portion of a longer form which is in focus is set off by square brackets ([...]) both in the Tzotzil and the English. Particularly in the presentation of the verb phrase, where there is a great deal of diversification of representation of both morphemes and morphophonemes, an illustration includes several levels of abstraction. The following example is typical:

bát-SECOND-ʔál-REF-IMPV-THIRD-PL 'go tell them,' bá-Ø-ʔál-be-o-Ø-ik, báʔálbeØik, bá ʔálbeik.

The first form above is a string of Tzotzil MORPHEMES. Morphemes are indicated by full caps, with the exception of roots, which are spelt out morphophonemically. The second Tzotzil form is a string of morphophonemes. The hyphens serve only to aid the reader in identifying the relation between particular morphemes and particular strings of morphophonemes. The final two forms are phonemic; the first includes one symbol for each morphophoneme of the preceding form so that the reader may see the relation of morphophonemes to phonemes. The second includes only non-null elements. If none of the morphophonemes are realized phonemically as the null element, only one form composed of phonemes is given, as in the following example:

INCOMPL-kʼót-váy-SUBJN-SECOND 'you will arrive there to sleep', tš-kʼó-váy-Ø-an, tškʼó váyan.

Parentheses are used in glossing a Tzotzil form either to add an English particle required to make the English idiomatic, or to delete a word which would hinder an idiomatic interpretation.

1.3. Acknowledgments. Nadine Weathers introduced me first to the Tzotzil language. Her initial instruction, and later counsel, have been of much benefit in learning and analyzing Tzotzil.

The data for this study were collected during extensive field trips in the municípios of San Andrés Larrainzar and Huixtán, Chiapas, México, from 1953-1967. The study of the Huixtán dialect was begun in 1958. Nicolás Hernández Ton (c. 32 years of age), Martín Pérez Ara (c. 55), Miguel Martínez Vásquez (c. 38), and Pedro Pérez Gómez (c. 26), all of the paraje of Yolon Basom, have, with much patience and faithful criticism, taught me to speak their language.

The present study is based on an unpublished manuscript "Morphological and Syntactic Structure of Tzotzil, San Andrés Dialect," written in 1957, at which time I received helpful suggestions from Prof. Howard Law. A later study, "Grammar of Tzotzil of Huixtán", (also unpublished) was written in 1961 at the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, under the direction of Dr. Viola Waterhouse. The present study builds on these two, and was undertaken at two four-month seminars of the Summer Institute of Linguistics held in the fall of 1966 and 1967 at its Centro Lingüístico Manuel Gamio, Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, México. A more formal presentation of the verb phrase than presented here, Cowan and Merrifield (1968), was prepared at the 1966 Seminar. I am indebted to Dr. William R. Merrifield for his direction during these workshops. He has given substantial help in the analysis and presentation of the material.

Of inestimable assistance in the analysis was a Huixtec Tzotzil concordance based on a 45,914-morpheme text compilation, and produced by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, which is sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation. Illustrative material drawn from the concordance is identified by the text and sentence number assigned by the concordance program.

1.4. Bibliographical References. In addition to the articles mentioned above, the following texts and grammatical descriptions of related and unrelated languages have been helpful to me in preparing this study. I also list four Doctoral Dissertations (three below, and one above) from the Universities of Chicago and California (at Berkeley) which are relevant to this study, but which I have not been able to consult.

BAER, Phillip and William R. MERRIFIELD

1967 "Restatement of the Pronominal Series in Maya (Lacandon)," International Journal of American Linguistics 33:206-208.

DAY, Christopher C.

1967 The Jacaltec Language. Unpublished University of Chicago Doctoral Dissertation.

GRIMES, Joseph E.

1964 Huichol Syntax. The Hague: Mouton and Company.

HOCKETT, Charles F.

1958 A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York: The Macmillan Company.

HOPKINS, Nicholas A.

1967 The Chuj Language. Unpublished University of Chicago Doctoral Dissertation.

KAUFMAN, Terrance S.

1958 Tzeltal Grammar. Unpublished University of California Doctoral Dissertation.

LONGACRE, Robert E.

1964 Grammar Discovery Procedures. The Hague: Mouton and Company.

MAYERS, Marvin K. (Ed.)

1966 Languages of Guatemala. The Hague: Mouton and Company.

MERRIFIELD, William R.

1967 "On the Form of Rules in a Generative Grammar," Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics 20, ed. by Edward L. Blansitt, Jr. Washington: Georgetown University Press. Pp. 43-55.

1968 Palantla Chinantec Grammar, in Papeles de la Chinantla, Serie Cientffica, Mexico City: Museo Nacional (in press).

MERRIFIELD, William R. and Betty J. STOUDT

1967 "Molinos Mixtec Clause Structure," Linguistics 32:58-78.

SLOCUM, Marianna C.

1948 "Tzeltal (Mayan) Noun and Verb Morphology," International Journal of American Linguistics 14:77-86.

n.d. "Tzeltal (Mayan) II: Sentence Types," ms.

WARKENTIN, Viola and Arabelle WHITTAKER

n.d. "Tumbalá Chol Clause Structure," Linguistics (in press).

THE CLAUSE

2.1. Clause Structure. The clause is a unit of predication. It consists minimally of a PREDICATE to which NOMINAL and ADVERBIAL constituents may be added. Nominal constituents are in cross-reference with the Predicate and are, together with the Predicate, considered NUCLEAR. Adverbial constituents are NONNUCLEAR.

A clause may have as many as four nuclear constituents as well as nonnuclear ones. The nuclear constituents (in normal order) are: PREDICATE, OBJECT, INDIRECT OBJECT, and SUBJECT.

The predicate constituent of a verbal clause may be INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE, or DITRANSITIVE; and is in cross-reference with the other nuclear constituents of the clause. The degree of transitivity of a clause is that of its Predicate. Thus an intransitive clause has an intransitive predicate, and so forth. The Indirect Object position may be occupied only in a ditransitive clause, and the Direct Object position may be occupied only in a transitive or ditransitive clause. The Subject position may be occupied in a clause of any degree of transitivity.

A clause may be ACTIVE or PASSIVE. In Active (a) clauses, the subject is the agent, the object is the goal, and the indirect object is the indirect goal. When Passive (p), the subject of an intransitive (i) or transitive (t) clause is the goal, and the subject of a ditransitive (d) clause is the indirect goal. In a passive intransitive clause there is only a subject (viz. the goal), and no agent may be marked. In passive transitive and ditransitive clauses the agent may be marked by the use of an associative noun phrase, and may be considered to fill the object and indirect object positions, respectively, whose normal occupants have vacated to subject position. (Some may prefer to consider these positions 'Agent' position; but regardless of the name, the nominal positions are the same in number for both passive and active clauses of the same degree of transitivity.) Since the agent of a passive clause is uniquely marked as an associative noun phrase, its linear order is not as rigidly fixed as other nominals.

ai: $_1$ináki $_2$ti$_3$vǐnik$_4$e. '$_2$The $_3$man $_4$(remote) $_1$sat down.'

pi: $_1$nákal $_2$ti$_3$vǐnik$_4$e. '$_2$The $_3$man $_4$(remote) $_1$is seated.'

at: $_1$lá $_2$snákan $_3$ti$_4$vǐnik$_5$e $_6$ti$_7$xpétul$_8$e. '$_6$(The) $_7$Peter $_8$(remote) $_{1,2}$seated $_3$the $_4$man $_5$(remote).'

pt: $_1$inákanat $_2$ti$_3$vǐnik$_4$e $_5$yú ʔun $_6$ti $_7$xpétul$_8$e. '$_2$The $_3$man $_4$(remote) $_1$was seated $_5$by $_6$(the) $_7$Peter $_8$(remote).'

ad: $_1$láx $_2$yák'be $_3$ʔ ĭšim $_4$ti$_5$vǐnik$_6$e $_7$ti $_8$xpétul$_9$e. '$_7$(The) $_8$Peter $_9$(remote) $_{1,2}$gave $_4$the $_5$man $_6$(remote) $_3$corn.'

pd: $_1$i ?ák'bat $_2$?ĭšim $_3$ti$_4$vĭnik$_5$e $_6$yú ?un $_7$ti$_8$xpétul$_8$e. '$_3$The $_4$man $_5$(remote) $_1$was given $_2$corn $_6$by $_7$(the) $_8$Peter $_8$(remote).'

Nonnuclear constituents are MANNER, LOCATIVE, TIME, CONDITION, PURPOSE-CAUSE, and VOCATIVE. The normal order of nonnuclear constituents in relation to one another and to the nuclear constituents is:

PRED, Ma, NOM, Loc, Time, Cond, P-C, Voc

More than three nonnuclear constituents rarely occur in the same clause.

$_1$tšaxtóxbot $_2$lĭ? $_3$ti$_4$tšánib $_5$?ú$_6$i. '$_1$I will pay it to you $_2$here $_3$in $_4$four $_5$months $_6$(immediate).' (NM616)

$_1$?álbun $_2$tálel $_3$mi$_4$lék. '$_1$Tell me $_2$coming $_3$if $_4$it is good (i.e., Tell me (by letter) if it is O.K.)' (NM289)

$_1$xámal$_2$me $_3$tšaválbun $_4$yú ?un $_5$xétš $_6$tixtóx $_7$kó ?nton. '$_1$It is open $_2$(emphatic) $_3$you will tell it to me $_4$so that $_5$it is thus $_6$I will pay $_7$my heart (i.e., Tell me plainly so that thus I will be satisfied).' (NM618)

2.2-2.11 The Verb Phrase

The predicate position of a clause is occupied by a verb phrase. The verb phrase is discussed in detail in the following sections; this is followed by a brief discussion of the forms which occupy Nominal and Adverbial Positions of the Clause.

2.2. Verb Phrase Structure. The constituents of the verb phrase are ASPECT, AUXILIARY, NUCLEUS, and DIRECTIONAL. The nucleus of the verb phrase consists of PRONOUNS, PLURAL markers, REFLEXIVE, and VERB. The verb consists of a VERB STEM which may be inflected for PERFECTIVE, REFERENTIAL, PASSIVE, or MODE.

VP = (ASP) (AUX) NUC (DIR)
NUC = (PN^1) (PN^2) V (REFL) (PL^2) (PN^3) (PL^1)
V = VS (PERF) (REF) (PASS) (MODE)

The following description will focus first on the verb, then on the remainder of the nucleus, and finally on the nonnuclear constituents of the phrase.

2.3-2.6 The Verb

2.3. Mode. There are two modes: INDICATIVE and INJUNCTIVE, and

two morphemes of mode: IMPERATIVE (IMPV) and SUBJUNCTIVE (SUBJN). Injunctive mode is related to morphemes in the following complex way:

(1) When an injunctive clause is the subject of a negative clause, the negative verb mú is modified by the modal me and the Verb Phrase of the injunctive clause is timeless (TLESS).

mú-me-TLESS-THIRD-SECOND-pás-THIRD 'don't do it,' mú-me-š-Ø-av-pás-Ø, múmešaØpás, múme šapás.
mú-me-TLESS-THIRD-bát 'he is not to go,' mú-me-š-Ø-bát, múme šbát.

(2) Otherwise, when the injunctive clause is a stative or has an inclusive person subject, its verb is subjunctive.

lék-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-THIRD 'may it be good,' lék-Ø-Ø-uk-Ø, lékuk.
kól-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-FIRST 'may I have been freed,' kól-em-Ø-uk-un, kólemukun.
INCL-pás-SUBJN-THIRD-PL 'let's do it,' k-pás-Ø-Ø-tik, xpástik.
INCL-?ábtex-SUBJN-PL 'let's work,' Ø-?ábtex-Ø-ukutik, ?ábtexukutik.

(3) Otherwise, the injunctive clause has a second person subject and its verb is imperative.

SECOND-mĺ-REF-IMPV-THIRD 'kill it for him,' Ø-mĺ-be-o-Ø, mĺbØo, mĺbo.
kóm-IMPV-SECOND 'stay', kóm-o-an, kóman.

When a verb is either imperative or subjunctive, a pronoun occurs in position three, but none occurs in position one. SUBJN is realized morphophonemically as the null element when flanked by an intransitive verb stem and SECOND, or with an active nonperfective transitive verb stem. Otherwise, it is realized as uk. IMPV is realized as o.

COMPL-tál-vé?-SUBJN-SECOND 'you came and ate,' Ø-tál-vé?-Ø-an, tál vé?an.
mú-TLESS-THIRD-SECOND-?ák'-THIRD 'you don't give it,' mú-š-Ø-av-?ák'-Ø, múšavØák', mú šavák'.
mú-vé?-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-FIRST 'I have not eaten,' mú-vé?-em-Ø-uk-un, mú vé?emukun.
?óy-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-THIRD 'may there be,' ?óy-Ø-Ø-uk-Ø, ?óyuk.
SECOND-k'él-IMPV-THIRD 'look at it,' Ø-k'él-o-Ø, k'élo.
yál-IMPV-SECOND 'descend', yál-o-an, yálØan, yálan.

Indicative clauses never have imperative verbs, but do have subjunctive verbs in a few specifiable cases. These are specified elsewhere in this study; but for purposes of illustration, two cases are cited here; viz., the verb of an indicative clause is subjunctive if either (1) an auxiliary verb is present, or (2) the verb is perfective and the clause occupies the subject of a negation clause.

INCOMPL-k'ót-ʔábtex-SUBJN-FIRST 'I shall arrive and work,' tš-k'ó-ʔábtex-uk-un, tšk'ó ʔábtexukun.
mú-FIRST-t'šám-PERF-REF-SUBJN-THIRD 'I have not received it for him,' mú-k-t'šám-ox-be-uk-Ø, múxt'šámoxbØuk, múx t'šámoxbuk.

2.4. Passive. A clause is ACTIVE if its agent is its subject; it is PASSIVE if its goal is its subject. The verb of a passive clause has as part of its realization the morpheme PASS. There is no overt morpheme to indicate a verb is active.

PASS is realized morphophonemically as the null element when following a stative verb stem, as at when following a nonperfective transitive verb stem, and as Rl when following a perfective transitive verb stem.

mól-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am old,' mól-Ø-Ø-un, mólun.
COMPL-FIRST-máx-PASS 'I was hit,' n-i-máx-at, nimáxat.
tšáp-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am prepared,' tšáp-Ø-Rl-un, tšápalun.

2.5. Perfective. An indicative verb phrase is TIMELESS, INCOMPLETIVE, COMPLFTIVE, or PERFECTIVE. Of these four aspects, the first three relate to the morpheme class ASP. Since ASP is nonnuclear, it is discussed further below (2.9). Perfective aspect relates to PERF, which is realized morphophonemically as the null element in the presence of PASS, and otherwise as em after an intransitive verb stem, and as ox after a transitive verb stem. As in the case of SUBJN and IMPV mentioned above, when PERF is present, a pronoun must occur in position three but may not occur in position one.

nák-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am seated,' nák-Ø-Rl-un, nákalun.
yéʔ-PERF-FIRST 'I have eaten,' yéʔ-em-un, yéʔemun.
THIRD-tšón-PERF-THIRD 'he has sold it,' y-tšón-ox-Ø, stšónox.

2.6. Verb Stem. In the verb phrase, a pronoun may stand in any of three relations to the verb: agent, goal, or referent. The first two of these relations are semantic primitives; the last is not. The last may be either the indirect goal or the possessor of the (direct) goal, with the restriction that it not also be the agent.

$_1$lâx $_2$atâk[be] $_3$anft'šon. '$_{1,2}$You sent $_3$your son $_2$[to him].'
$_1$lâx $_2$atfk'[be] $_3$svákaš. '$_{1,2}$You enclosed $_3$[his] cattle.'

An active intransitive clause is based on intransitive verb stems.

INCOMPL-SECOND-?âtin 'you will bathe,' tš-a-?âtin, tša?âtin,
COMPL-FIRST-náki 'I sat down,' n-i-náki, ináki.

An intransitive clause which is perfective and passive is a STATIVE clause. A stative clause is based on perfective passive transitive verb stems, or on stative verb stems (stative stems and noun stems) which behave syntactically like perfective passive transitive stems, and are therefore considered always to occur with the morphemes PERF and PASS when in the nucleus of a verb phrase.

xóm-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is perforated,' xóm-Ø-Rl-Ø, xómol.
tšâp-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am prepared,' tšâp-Ø-Rl-un, tšâpalun.

A transitive clause is based on a transitive verb stem.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-?âk'-THIRD 'I'll give it,' tš-Ø-k-?âk'-Ø, tškØâk', tškâk'.
COMPL-THIRD-SECOND-tâ-THIRD 'you found it,' i-Ø-av-tâ-Ø, Ø-a-tâ, atâ.

If a transitive clause is both perfective and passive, its verb is referential (i.e., inflected as though there were a referent). REF is realized morphophonemically as be.

xâm-PERF-REF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been opened,' xâm-Ø-be-Rl-Ø, xâmbØil, xâmbil.
pâs-PERF-REF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been made,' pâs-Ø-be-Rl-Ø, pâsbØil, pâsbil.

A referential clause has a transitive verb stem and REF. Since a transitive clause that is both perfective and passive requires REF, a referential clause may not be both perfective and passive.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-ʔál-REF-THIRD 'I shall tell it to him,' tš-ø-k-ʔál-be-ø, tškøálbe, tškálbe.
INCOMPL-FIRST-THIRD-xák'-REF-FIRST 'he will ask it of me,' tš-i-y-xák'-be-un, tšisxák'bøun, tšisxák'bun.

2.7-2.8 Remainder of the Nucleus

2.7. Reflexive. A clause is REFLEXIVE if the same referent is both its agent and its goal. This is marked grammatically by the occurrence of REFL which consists of a pronoun of position two and the reflexive noun bá.

INCOMPL-FIRST-tšón-FIRST-bá 'I'll hire myself out,' tš-k-tšón-k-bá, tixtšón xbá.
INCOMPL-THIRD-mſl-THIRD-bá 'he'll kill himself,' tš-y-mſl-y-bá, tsmſl sbá.

2.8. Pronouns and Plural. There are four personal pronouns, and three positions which they occupy in the verb phrase nucleus. The Plural morpheme may occupy one of two positions. These are described in 6.1 and 6.2.

2.9-2.11 Nonnuclear Constituents

2.9. Aspect. There are four aspects in Huixtec: TIMELESS, INCOMPLETIVE, COMPLETIVE, and PERFECTIVE. Perfective aspect has been discussed above. The remaining three aspects are members of the class ASP: TLESS (timeless), INCOMPL (Incompletive) and COMPL (completive). TLESS is realized morphophonemically as š and INCOMPL as tš.

TLESS-THIRD-FIRST-ʔóxtikin-THIRD 'I know him,' š-ø-k-ʔóxtikin-ø, škøóxtikin, škóxtikin.
TLESS-SECOND-bát 'you go,' š-a-bát, šabát.
INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-ʔák'-REF-THIRD 'you will give it to him,' tš-ø-av-ʔák'-be-ø, tšavøák'be, tšavák'be.
INCOMPL-FIRST-kóm 'I shall stay,' tš-i-kóm, tšikóm.

COMPL is realized morphophonemically as š when the clause is the subject of a negation clause, and otherwise as n preceding FIRST, SECOND, or INCL, as i preceding THIRD, and as the null element preceding AUX.

mú-SUBJN-COMPL-FIRST-tál 'I didn't come,' mú-uk-š-i-tál, múøkšitál, múk šitál.

COMPL-FIRST-?án 'I was born,' n-i-?án, ni?án.
COMPL-SECOND-?átin 'you bathed,' n-a-?átin, na?átin.
COMPL-INCL-yál-ukutik 'we (incl) descended,' n-ix-yál-ukutik, nixyálukutik.
COMPL-THIRD-t'šáy 'he got lost,' i-Ø-t'šáy, it'šáy.
COMPL-tál-THIRD-?ɬk'-SUBJN-THIRD 'he came and took her,' Ø-tál-y-?ɬk'-Ø-Ø, tál yɬk'.

2.10. Auxiliary. AUX is a subclass of intransitive verb stems which may modify a nuclear verb. There are eight auxiliaries: tál 'come', bát 'go', ?áy 'go and return', xúl 'arrive home', k'ót 'arrive away from home', lɬk 'begin', láx 'finish', and ?ét'š 'pass by'.

Auxiliaries differ from directionals (below) in not being in simultaneous temporal order with the nuclear verb. There is a syntactic limitation that an auxiliary may not occur with a perfective nuclear verb. As mentioned above, the nuclear verb of an indicative clause is subjunctive when an auxiliary is present.

INCOMPL-láx-?ábtex-SUBJN-FIRST 'I shall finish working,' tš-láx-?ábtex-uk-un, tšláx ?ábtexukun.
COMPL-xúl-?ák'-REF-PASS-SUBJN-FIRST 'I arrived home and was given it,' Ø-xúl-?ák'-be-at-uk-un, xúl?ák'bØatukun, xúl ?ák'batukun.

Three of the auxiliary stems have special morphophonemic realization when modifying a nuclear verb: bát becomes bá, ?áy becomes ?á, k'ót becomes k'ó. A fourth, tál, has a special realization lá? when followed by IMPV, either as auxiliary or nuclear verb.

COMPL-?áy-THIRD-k'él-SUBJN-THIRD 'He went there and saw it and returned,' Ø-?á-y-k'él-Ø-Ø, ?á sk'él.
INCOMPL-k'ót-váy-SUBJN-SECOND 'you will arrive there to sleep,' tš-k'ó-váy-Ø-an, tšk'ó váyan.

If the nuclear verb is imperative, of the auxiliaries only tál 'come' or bát 'go' may occur.

tál-SECOND-pás-IMPV-THIRD 'come do it,' lá?-Ø-pás-o-Ø, lá? páso.
bát-SECOND-?ál-REF-IMPV-THIRD-ik 'go tell them,' bá-Ø-?ál-be-o-Ø-ik, bá?álbeØik, bá ?álbeik.

The following forms which appear to include an injunctive auxiliary and an indicative main verb are treated as two successive verb phrases each.

$_1$lâ $_2$xpêtot. '$_1$Come, $_2$let me pick you up.'
$_1$lâ $_2$?ótšukutik. '$_1$Come, $_2$let's enter.'

2.11. Directionals. A directional event is an intransitive event which modifies a nuclear event and is in simultaneous temporal order with it.

The DIRECTIONAL constituent of the verb phrase consists of one or two DIRECTIONAL NOUNS. A directional noun is either a double-function root (10.1) which functions both as an intransitive verb stem and directional noun without derivational affixation, or an intransitive verb stem with nominalizing suffix el (10.8).

Directional nouns fall into two sets on the basis of their position when two nouns occur together. The classification is tentative and subject to further investigation.

$$\text{DIR} = (\text{Dir}^1)\ (\text{Dir}^2)$$

Nouns which may occupy Dir^1 are: yâlel 'descending', mûel 'ascending', sûtel 'returning', kómel 'remaining', xûlel 'arriving home', k'ótel 'arriving away from home', lók'el 'exiting', ?ótšel 'entering', ?ét'šel 'passing by'.

$_1$i ?ótš $_2$kómel $_3$ti$_4$tšûkel. '$_1$He entered $_2$remaining $_3$in $_4$jail.' (AJ033)
$_1$lâ $_2$stênik $_3$?ótšel $_4$ti$_5$nâb. '$_{1,2}$They threw him $_3$entering $_4$into $_5$deep water.' (DB010)

Nouns which may occupy both Dir^1 and Dir^2 are: tâl 'coming', and bâtel 'going'.

$_1$kît'štik$_2$ša $_3$lók'el $_4$tâl. '$_1$Let's bring it $_2$now $_3$exiting $_4$coming (i.e., Let's bring it out here now).' (PP062)
$_1$lâ $_2$skûtš $_3$mûel $_4$bâtel. '$_{1,2}$He carried it $_3$up $_4$going.'

When tâl occupies the Dir^1 position, it may or may not occur with derivational affixation.

$_1$k'ûsi $_2$?óra $_3$tšasût $_4$tâl. '$_1$What $_2$time $_3$will you return $_4$coming (i.e., When will you return here)?' (NL109)
$_1$xêtš $_2$yù?ûn $_3$nixkól $_4$tâlel. '$_2$Because of this, $_1$it is thus $_3$we were freed $_4$coming (i.e., For that reason we were freed to come).' (PP121)

Three nouns may occupy Dir[1] without derivational affixation: yál 'descending', sút 'returning', and lók' 'exiting'. They are always followed by tál.

$_1$tštál $_2$snít $_3$yál $_4$tál $_5$ti$_6$smé?$_7$e. '$_1$Coming $_2$they pull $_3$down $_4$coming $_5$(the) $_6$their mother $_7$(remote) (i. e., They come and pull their mother down to where they are).' (DB029)

$_1$tšatákbun $_2$sút $_3$tál $_4$sk'éšol. '$_1$You will send to me $_2$returning $_3$coming $_4$its answer (i. e., You will send back here to me the answer).' (NL053)

$_1$itšá?kuši $_2$lók' $_3$tál. '$_1$He came to life again $_2$exiting $_3$coming (i. e., He came to life again and came out of the grave).' (X2. 116)

2. 12 Nominal Positions

The Nominal Positions of most clauses may be occupied by a clause, a noun phrase, or any form which may occupy a noun phrase position. Restricted subsets of clauses may also have prepositional phrases as nominals. Words that may occupy these positions include possessed and unpossessed nouns and various classes of statives.

$_1$yáxem [$_2$sxól]. '[$_2$His head] $_1$has been wounded.' (MC025)

$_1$lá $_2$xpás [$_3$póš]. '$_{1,2}$I made [$_3$liquor].' (F2. 132)

$_1$lax $_2$avák'bun [$_3$xmít]. '$_{1,2}$You gave me [$_3$a thousand].'

Phrases which may occupy nominal positions include Determined Noun Phrases, Descriptive Noun Phrases, Possessed Noun Phrases, ti-Phrases, and Conditional Phrases.

$_1$tškák'be [$_2$ti$_3$spóšil$_4$e]. '$_1$I will give him [$_2$(the) $_3$his medicine $_4$(remote)].' (NM430)

$_1$tákbun $_2$tálel [$_3$yán $_4$ták'in]. '$_1$Send me $_2$coming [$_3$more $_4$money].' (NM385)

$_1$xétš $_2$ik'ásbat [$_3$sk'ób $_4$ti$_5$bólom$_6$e]. '$_1$It is thus $_2$it was broken [$_3$his paw $_4$the $_5$ tiger $_6$(remote)] (i. e., It was in this way the tiger's paw was broken).' (NT007)

$_1$mú [$_2$ti$_3$svéntauk $_4$stúkik]. '$_1$It is not [$_2$on $_3$their account $_4$they alone] (i. e., It is not on their account alone).' (X1. 098)

$_1$mú $_2$xmá?$_3$uk [$_4$mi$_5$tš?ábtex]. '$_1$It is not $_2$I know $_3$also [$_4$if $_5$he works] (i. e., Neither do I know if he is working).' (NM065)

A significant limitation in what may occupy a nominal position is that the agent of a passive clause may only be a possessed noun phrase based on the associative stem ú?un.

$_1$mû $_2$lêkuk $_3$i?ñat [$_4$yû?un $_5$ti$_6$sbânkil$_7$e]. '$_1$It is not $_2$it be good $_3$he was seen [$_4$by $_5$(the) $_6$his older brother $_7$(remote)] (i. e., He was not liked by his older brother).' (AJ005)

Various subsets of clauses have been defined below on the basis of the kinds of clauses which may occupy their nominal positions. The following examples illustrate a clause in subject position and in object position, respectively.

$_1$xâ? $_2$lêk [$_3$?ák'o $_4$sûtuk $_5$ták'in]. '$_1$That is it: $_2$it is good [$_3$let it $_4$it be returned $_5$his money] (i. e., It's best that his money be returned).' (NM052)

$_1$mû $_2$xnâ?tik [$_3$mi$_4$tšixtšápax]. '$_1$It is not $_2$we know [$_3$if $_4$we'll be arranged] (i. e., We don't know if it will be settled for us).' (PP171)

The forms which occupy nominal positions are diagnostic of clause subsets, and further description of their distribution is given in chapters 3 and 4, where subsets of clauses are introduced and illustrated.

2. 13-2. 18 Adverbial Positions

2. 13. The Manner Position. The Manner constituent gives information regarding such notions as mode, degree, means, material, and instrument. It normally occurs immediately following the predicator, and may be a stative verb or a ti-phrase.

$_1$lâ $_2$xpás [$_3$ti$_4$?ánil]. '$_1$ $_2$I did it [$_3$in $_4$a hurry].' (NM548)

$_1$tšlík $_2$kálbot [$_3$k'ûnk'un]. '$_1$I will begin $_2$to tell it to you [$_3$slowly] (i. e., I will gradually begin to tell it to you).' (AB041)

$_1$mû$_2$to $_3$štóxob $_4$kû?un [$_5$lêk] $_6$ti$_7$xûn$_8$e. '$_1$It is not $_2$still $_3$it becomes straight $_4$by me [$_5$well] $_6$the $_7$paper $_8$(remote) (i. e., I don't know how to read and write well yet).' (MS085)

$_1$tixpástik [$_2$tsóts]. '$_1$We will do it [$_2$hard] (i. e., We will persevere).' (F2. 195)

$_1$tšûkul [$_2$ti$_3$karêna $_4$ták'in]. '$_1$He is tied [$_2$with (a) $_4$metal $_3$chain].' (WP007)

$_1$pásbilun [$_2$ti$_3$t'sûbilum]. '$_1$I have been made [$_2$of $_3$dust].' (MP023)

The base of several idiomatic expressions is a ti-phrase in the manner position.

$_1$ik'ót [$_2$ti$_3$pásel]. '$_1$It arrived [$_2$by $_3$being done] (i. e., It took place, it happened).' (F2.202)

$_1$lax $_2$yak' [$_3$ti$_4$k'élel]. '$_{1,2}$He gave it [$_3$by $_4$being looked at] (i. e., He showed it).'

$_1$tšispásun [$_2$ti$_3$mántal]. '$_1$He does me [$_2$by $_3$a command] (i. e., He commands me).' (F2.094)

2.14. The Locative Position. The Locative constituent of a clause occurs most frequently following the predicate, but may also occur following the nominals. If both Locative and Time constituents occur, Locative precedes Time.

PL: $_1$tštûn [$_2$lí?$_3$to]. '$_1$It is useful [$_2$here $_3$still).' (NM542)
PL: $_1$tšit'sfbax [$_2$ti$_3$kastíya]. '$_1$I will write [$_2$in $_3$Spanish].' (CL078)
POL: $_1$tšbá $_2$stší?in $_3$xpétul [$_4$ti$_5$xtéklum]. '$_1$Going $_2$he will accompany $_3$Peter [$_4$to $_5$town] (i. e., He will go and accompany Peter to town.'
PSLT: $_1$?ép $_2$ti$_3$púkux [$_4$lí?] $_5$ti$_6$vó?one. '$_1$Many $_2$the $_3$devils [$_4$here] $_5$in $_6$the past (i. e., There were many devils here in the past).' (DB032)

A Locative constituent may be a word, a phrase, a question clause based on bû 'where', or a clause based on yó? whose subject is a bû clause. Words which may occupy this position include only locative statives.

$_1$?ák'o $_2$táluk [$_3$lí?$_4$to]. '$_1$Let it $_2$may he come [$_3$here $_4$still] (i. e., Let him come here).' (AJ041)
$_1$?óy $_2$k'ûsi $_3$lax $_4$yî $_5$ti$_6$lóktor [$_7$tê]. '$_1$There is $_2$what $_5$the $_6$doctor $_{3,4}$saw [$_7$there] (i. e., The doctor saw something there).' (NM513)
$_1$ibát $_2$yó? [$_3$bû $_4$pínka$_5$?uk$_6$e]. '$_1$He went $_2$to the same place [$_3$where $_4$a coffee ranch is $_5$also $_6$(remote)].' (AB136)

The only phrases which may occupy the Locative position are locative relator phrases based on ti 'in, at, to, by, through, into, on' or k'alal 'as far as'. Of these, ti-phrases are the most common.

$_1$i?ótš [$_2$ti$_3$tšûkel] $_4$ti$_5$xûn$_6$e. '$_4$The $_5$one $_6$(remote) $_1$entered [$_2$(into) $_3$prison].' (AJ032)
$_1$?ít'šbun $_2$xk'óp $_3$tšé?$_4$e [$_5$k'álal $_6$vînaxel]. '$_3$So $_4$(remote) $_1$hear $_2$my words [$_5$as far as $_6$heaven].' (MP088)

When occupying the Locative position of a clause, a question clause based on bû 'where' functions as a relative clause. It may or may not be determined (Cf. 6.3).

$_1$láx$_2$ša $_3$stáukutik [$_4$bú $_5$ʔóyukutik$_6$to]. '$_{1,3}$He has found us $_2$now [$_4$where $_5$we are $_6$still].' (X2.255)
$_1$té$_2$ša $_3$tálem [$_4$ti$_5$bú $_6$ʔóyot$_7$e]. '$_1$It is there $_2$now $_3$he has come [$_4$the $_5$where $_6$you are $_7$(remote)] (i.e., He has already come there where you are).' (NM098)

2.15. The Time Position. The Time constituent of a clause occurs most frequently following the predicate, but may also occur following the manner, locative, or nominal constituents.

PMT: $_1$iláx $_2$ti$_3$pák'el [$_4$náš]. '$_1$It was finished $_2$by $_3$mudding [$_4$today] (i.e., They finished mudding it today).' (NM573)
PT: $_1$tixpás [$_2$ti$_3$máyo]. '$_1$I will do it [$_2$in $_3$May].' (YW003)
POT: $_1$tixk'éltik $_2$yán $_3$sénya [$_4$ʔók'om]. '$_1$We will look at $_2$another $_3$sign [$_4$tomorrow] (i.e., We will look at other pictures tomorrow).' (X1.197)
PLT: $_1$tšibát $_2$ti $_3$xóbel [$_4$ʔók'om]. '$_1$I will go $_2$to $_3$Las Casas [$_4$tomorrow].' (NM378)

A Time constituent may be a word, a phrase, or a clause. Words are restricted to temporal statives.

$_1$tšitál [$_2$sób]. '$_1$I will come [$_2$early].'
$_1$tšaxk'óponot [$_2$ʔók'om]. '$_1$I will talk to you [$_2$tomorrow].' (AB236)

The only phrases which may occupy the Time position are temporal relator phrases, based on ti 'at, in, on', k'álal 'when', and ʔásta 'until'. Of these ti- and k'álal-phrases are the most common.

$_1$tixkútštutik $_2$síʔ [$_3$ti$_4$xúxun $_5$málk'ak'al$_6$e]. '$_1$We carry $_2$firewood [$_3$(on) $_4$each $_5$afternoon $_6$(remote)].' (EW002)
$_1$ikíl [$_2$k'álal $_3$bík'itun$_4$to$_5$e]. '$_1$I saw him [$_2$when $_3$I was small $_4$still $_5$(remote)].' (MC045)
$_1$xétš $_2$lá $_3$xpástutik [$_4$ʔásta $_5$nilók'tutik $_6$ti$_7$ʔiskuéla]. '$_1$It was thus $_{2,3}$we did [$_4$until $_5$we came out $_6$of $_7$school] (i.e., That's what we did until we left off going to school).' (CL031)
$_1$šatál [$_2$k'álal $_3$ti$_4$xóʔlaxuneb $_5$k'ák'al]. '$_1$You come [$_2$(when) $_3$in $_4$fifteen $_5$days].' (NM070)

2.16. The Conditional Position. The Conditional constituent of the clause normally follows Location and Time constituents and precedes Purpose-Cause constituents, but very frequently it is permuted to the left of the predicator. When permuted, its clause may occupy the subject position of a

manner clause based on xétš 'thus'. The Conditional constituent is always a mi-phrase (7.4).

$_{1}$tšábanuk [$_{2}$mi$_{3}$kúšul$_{4}$to$_{5}$e]. '$_{1}$Greet her [$_{2}$if $_{3}$she is living $_{4}$still $_{5}$(remote)].' (NM479)

$_{1}$tšakálbot $_{2}$yán $_{3}$ló?il [$_{4}$mi$_{5}$lék $_{6}$tšavá?i]. '$_{1}$I will tell you $_{2}$another $_{3}$story [$_{4}$if $_{5}$good $_{6}$you hear them] (i.e., I will tell you another story if you like).' (NM054)

$_{1}$tsókes $_{2}$xóltik [$_{3}$mi$_{4}$tškút'štik $_{5}$ti$_{6}$póš$_{7}$e] $_{8}$yú?un $_{9}$tšix?ílin. '$_{1}$It puts out of order $_{2}$our heads [$_{3}$if $_{4}$we drink $_{5}$(the) $_{6}$liquor $_{7}$(remote)] $_{8}$because $_{9}$we become angry (i.e., We can't think right if we drink liquor because we become angry).' (F2.130)

$_{1}$xétš $_{2}$yù?ún [$_{3}$mi$_{4}$láx $_{5}$ká?i $_{6}$ti$_{7}$k'usi $_{8}$tšál$_{9}$e] $_{10}$tšakálbot $_{11}$ti$_{12}$yán $_{13}$vélta. '$_{2}$Because of this, $_{1}$it is thus its cause [$_{3}$if $_{4,5}$I heard $_{6}$(the) $_{7}$what $_{8}$he says $_{9}$(remote)] $_{10}$I will tell it to you $_{11}$(at) $_{12}$another $_{13}$time (i.e., Therefore if I hear what he says I'll tell you next time).' (NM122)

2.17. The Purpose-Cause Position. The Purpose-Cause constituent of a clause occurs most frequently following nominals or the predicator. It often occurs final in the clause and may be occupied by one of two Causative possessed noun phrases (5.10), or the Associative noun phrase (5.7).

$_{1}$xétš $_{2}$stálel $_{3}$skótol $_{4}$k'ák'al [$_{5}$skóx $_{6}$ti$_{7}$múlil$_{8}$e]. '$_{1}$It is thus $_{2}$their nature $_{3}$their allness $_{4}$days [$_{5}$its bad cause $_{6}$(the) $_{7}$error $_{8}$(remote)] (i.e., They are like that all the time because of error).' (F2.083)

$_{1}$šú? $_{2}$kú?untik [$_{3}$ti$_{4}$svénta $_{5}$ti$_{6}$xt'šúltotik$_{7}$e]. '$_{1}$It is able $_{2}$by us [$_{3}$(the) $_{4}$his good cause $_{5}$(the) $_{6}$our supernatural father $_{7}$(remote)] (i.e., We can do it because of our supernatural father).'

$_{1}$tšaxk'óponot $_{2}$ti$_{3}$kárta [$_{4}$yú?un $_{5}$xtšámel $_{6}$ti$_{7}$káxnil$_{8}$e]. '$_{1}$I will talk to you $_{2}$by $_{3}$letter [$_{4}$because $_{6}$(the) $_{7}$my wife $_{6}$(remote) $_{5}$is sick].' (NM495)

$_{1}$?álbun [$_{2}$yú?un$_{3}$xétš $_{4}$tixná? $_{5}$k'úsi $_{6}$tšiták'av]. '$_{1}$Tell me [$_{2}$so that $_{3}$thus $_{4}$I will know $_{5}$what $_{6}$I will answer].'

When yú?un occurs alone in the P-C position of a Manner Clause based on xétš 'thus', it receives phrase stress on its final syllable and has reference to a preceding form with a sense equivalent to English 'therefore'.

$_{1}$xétš $_{2}$yù?ún... '$_{2}$Because of this, $_{1}$it is thus (that)...

When a subjunctive clause occupies the Purpose-Cause position of the clause, it immediately follows the predicator.

$_{1}$xák'bo [$_{2}$avá?i] $_{3}$k'úsi $_{4}$tšál$_{5}$e. '$_{1}$Ask him [(so) $_{2}$you hear] $_{3}$what $_{4}$he says $_{5}$(remote).' (AB170)

$_1$avókoluk $_2$nópo [$_3$ká?itik]. '$_1$Please $_2$think about it [(so) $_3$we hear].' (NM220)
$_1$k'élo [$_2$avíl] $_3$sk'án $_4$smêltsambel $_5$smákte?. '$_1$Look at it [(so) $_2$you see] $_3$he wants $_4$its having been made for him $_5$his fence (i. e., Look at that, he wants a fence made for him).' (PP440)

2. 18. The Vocative Position. The Vocative constituent of the clause normally occurs clause final, but may also be permuted to first or second position. First position in the clause gives the greatest degree of emphasis. Vocative statives, nouns and names, singly or in series, may occupy the Vocative position.

PV: $_1$bátik [$_2$šlél]. '$_1$Let's go, [$_2$Manuela].'
PGV: $_1$xt'šámuntik $_2$kák'tik $_3$anénebotš$_4$e [$_5$xbánkil $_6$víšin]. '$_2$Come on, $_1$let us borrow $_3$your nice little gourd $_4$(remote), [$_5$older brother, $_6$older sister].' (AB048)
SVPT: $_1$xáyibošuk$_2$ša $_3$ti$_4$lí?oyošuk$_5$e [$_6$kermánotak $_7$tótetak $_8$mé?$_9$e] $_{10}$lá?ik $_{11}$?ók'om. '$_1$How many of you $_2$now $_3$that $_4$are here $_5$(remote) [$_6$my brethren, $_7$fathers, $_8$mothers $_9$(remote)], $_{10}$come $_{11}$tomorrow.' (X2. 274)
VPG: [$_1$tót$_2$e $_3$mé?$_4$e] $_5$?ák'o $_6$pérton. '[$_1$Father $_2$(remote), $_3$mother $_4$(remote)], $_5$give $_6$pardon (i. e., Father, mother, excuse us).' (AB151)

SUBSETS OF STATIVE CLAUSES

In this chapter and the following one, a number of subsets of clauses are discussed. Tzotzil, and Mayan languages in general, make much use of clauses based on Stative Stems where other languages use a greater variety of construction- and word-types. It has thus seemed appropriate to dedicate a separate chapter to this topic.

With a view to illustrating the extremely common use of stative clauses, certain subsets are presented separately which might otherwise–from a strictly syntactic point of view–be grouped with other subsets as of the same type. It is not supposed that all relevant subsets of stative clauses have been recognized and described; the following may be considered a representative sample:

1. Question Clauses
2. Negation Clauses
3. Attention Clauses
4. Manner Clauses
5. Location Clauses
6. Time Clauses
7. Concomitance Clauses
8. Contingency Clauses
9. Contrary-to-fact Clauses
10. Sensory Clauses
11. Quantification Clauses
12. Numeral Clauses

3.1. Question Clauses. There are two kinds of questions: QUESTIONS FOR CONFIRMATION (or lack thereof) and QUESTIONS FOR INFORMATION. A Question For Confirmation is a mi-phrase (7.4), whereas a Question For Information is a clause based on one of four INTERROGATIVE STATIVE STEMS. Three of these are simple; the fourth is composite, consisting of a NUMERAL ROOT followed (like all Numeral Roots) by a CLASSIFIER ROOT. The Interrogative Stems are:

1. xâ-(plus classifier root) 'how many'
2. mût'šu 'who'
3. bû 'where'
4. k'û (or k'ûsi) 'what'

The composite Numeral-Classifier Stem asks a question of specific quantity. In addition to its pronoun subject, it may have a Noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause as subject.

PN only: xá-vo?-ukutik. 'How many (people) are we?'
N: $_1$xá-kot [$_2$avákaš]. '$_1$How many (animal) [$_2$your cows] (i.e., How many cows do you have)?'
dNP: $_1$xá-yib-oš-uk [$_2$ti$_3$natálik$_4$e]. '$_1$How many (general) of you [$_2$the $_3$you came $_4$(remote)] (i.e., How many are there of you that came)?' (X1.218)
Cl: $_1$xá-vo?-oš-uk [$_2$?óy $_3$avábtelik]. '$_1$How many (people) of you [$_2$there is $_3$your work] (i.e., How many of you have work)?'
Cl: $_1$xá-yib [$_2$mú $_3$sk'án]. '$_1$How many (general) [$_2$it is not $_3$they want it] (i.e., How many don't want it)?'

mút'šu asks the identity of a personal nominal referent or is rhetorical (with attention drawn to a personal referent). In questions concerning a personal nominal referent, in addition to the pronoun subject, there may be a noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause as clause-level nominal constituent.

PN only: mút'šuot. 'Who are you?'
N: $_1$mút'šu [$_2$smé?]. '$_1$Who is [$_2$his mother]?'
dNP: $_1$mút'šu [$_2$ti$_3$x?ét'šesexk'óp $_4$kú?untik]. '$_1$Who is [$_2$(the) $_4$our $_3$interpreter]?' (X1.040)
iCl: $_1$mút'šu [$_2$itšám]. '$_1$Who [$_2$died]?' (NM247)

In a rhetorical question (with reference to a person) the subject of mút'šu is either a clause with the auxiliary bá 'go' or a clause based on k'án 'lack' whose subject is a clause with the auxiliary bá. In either case, the rhetorical implies a negative response. The use of k'án implies impossibility; its absence (in this construction) implies improbability.

$_1$mút'šu [$_2$k'ám $_3$bá $_4$st'šún]. '$_1$Who [$_2$lacking $_3$went $_4$he believed it] (i.e., Who could believe it)!' (F2.179)
$_1$mút'šu [$_2$bá $_3$spás]. '$_1$Who [$_2$went $_3$he did it] (i.e., Who would do it)!'

bú asks a question of location or is rhetorical (with attention drawn to other than a personal referent. In addition to its pronoun subject, its clause-level nominal constituent may be a noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause.

PN only: búot 'Where are you?'
N: $_1$bú [$_2$snáj]. '$_1$Where is [$_2$his house]?' (OD091)

dNP: $_1$bû [$_2$ti$_3$amé?$_4$e]. '$_1$Where is [$_2$(the) $_3$your mother $_4$(remote)]?'
iCl: $_1$bû [$_2$tšixbât]. '$_1$Where [$_2$are we going]?' (X2.119)

Rhetoricals based on bû have as subject forms built on the same constructional pattern as rhetoricals based on mût'šu.

$_1$bû [$_2$bá $_3$kûšuluk]. '$_1$Where [$_2$went $_3$it be alive] (i.e., How would it be alive)!' (X2.204)
$_1$bû [$_2$k'ám $_3$bá $_4$skóltaukutik]. '$_1$Where [$_2$lacking $_3$went $_4$he help us] (i.e., How could he help us)!' (X2.210)

In respect to the rhetorical questions based on mût'šu and bû, they are invariably rhetorical when k'án is present or when the subject clause is stative. In the absence of k'án, however, when the subject clause is intransitive or transitive, such forms may or may not be rhetorical, depending upon context and intonation. It is only in rhetoricals that an auxiliary (in this case always bá) may occur with a stative verb.

$_1$bû [$_2$k'ám $_3$bá $_4$?óyuk $_5$ti$_6$mánel]. '$_1$Where [$_2$lacking $_3$went $_4$there be $_5$to $_6$buy] (i.e., How could it be for sale)!' (X1.110)
$_1$ti$_2$mántšuk $_3$isûxat$_4$e $_5$bû [$_6$bá $_7$spás]. '$_1$(The) $_2$it be of no consequence $_3$he was forced $_4$(remote) $_5$where [$_6$went $_7$he did it] (i.e., If he hadn't been forced, would he have done it)!'
$_1$ti$_2$mántšuk $_3$lâx $_4$yál $_5$mántal $_6$ti$_7$présidente$_8$e $_9$mut'šu [$_{10}$bá $_{11}$bâtuk]. '$_1$(The) $_2$it be of no consequence $_6$the $_7$president $_8$(remote) $_{3,4}$said $_5$a command $_9$who is it [$_{10}$went $_{11}$went] (i.e., If the president had not commanded it, who who would have gone)!'

k'û (or k'ûsi) asks a question concerning (1) the identity of an impersonal nominal referent, (2) cause, (3) purpose, (4) time, (5) circumstance, (6) manner, or (7) general quantity.

In a question of the identity of an impersonal nominal referent, the subject of the clause is a noun stem formed with al (10.8), a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause.

N: $_1$k'ûsi [$_2$póšilal]. '$_1$What [$_2$medicine]?' (MP073)
dNP: $_1$k'ûsi [$_2$ti$_3$tšitâk'av$_4$e]. '$_1$What is it [$_2$(the) $_3$I'll answer $_4$(remote)]?'
tCl: $_1$k'ûsi [$_2$tšaxâk']. '$_1$What [$_2$do you ask]?' (NM547)

In a question concerning cause, the subject of the k'û clause is always a yû?un phrase.

$_1$k'ú [$_2$yù ?un $_3$má $_4$asá?]. '$_1$What [$_2$its cause $_3$not $_4$you looked for her] (i.e., Why did you not look for her)?' (AB134)
$_1$k'ú [$_2$yù ?ún $_3$tšabát]. '$_1$What [$_2$its cause $_3$you are going] (i.e., Why are you going)?'

In a question concerning purpose, the subject of the k'úsi clause is a Possessed Noun Phrase with svêntail 'its purpose' as head.

$_1$k'úsi [$_2$svêntail $_3$ti$_4$natál$_5$e]. '$_1$What is [$_2$its purpose $_3$(the) $_4$you came $_5$(remote)] (i.e., What is the purpose of your having come)?'

The difference between 'cause' and 'purpose' questions is that the 'cause' question inquires concerning the grounds of an action, whereas the 'purpose' question inquires concerning the intended result or subsequent action to be taken.

In a question concerning time, the subject of the k'úsi clause is a noun phrase based on the noun ?óra 'time'.

$_1$k'úsi [$_2$?óra $_3$tšasútik $_4$tál]. '$_1$What [$_2$time $_3$will you return $_4$coming] (i.e., When will you return here)?'

In a question concerning circumstance, the subject of the k'ú clause is a clause having the intransitive verb ?élan as predicator.

$_1$k'ú [$_2$ša?élan]. '$_1$What [$_2$is your circumstance] (i.e., How are you)?' (NL168)
$_1$k'ú [$_2$š?élan $_3$tšismflukutik]. '$_1$What [$_2$is the circumstance $_3$they will kill us] (i.e., Under what circumstances will they kill us)?' (OD078)

In a question concerning manner, the subject of the k'ú clause is a clause, the predicate of which is the stative verb tšé?el.

$_1$k'ú [$_2$tšè?él $_3$láx $_4$smúkik]. '$_1$What [$_2$is the manner $_{3,4}$they buried him] (i.e., How did they bury him)?' (MC035)

In a question concerning general quantity, the subject of the k'ú clause is a Possessed Noun Phrase with yépal 'its muchness' as head.

$_1$k'ú [$_2$yépal $_3$sk'án]. '$_1$What [$_2$is its muchness $_3$its lack] (i.e., How much is lacking)?' (NM174)
$_1$k'ú [$_2$yépal $_3$kíl]. '$_1$What [$_2$is its muchness $_3$my debt] (i.e., How much is my debt)?' (NM607)

Questions For Information occur as independent sentences in all the examples given above. They may also function as relative clauses when occupying clause or Noun Phrase positions.

As Subject: $_1$mú?yuk [$_2$múť'šu $_3$itšám]. '$_1$There is not [$_2$who $_3$died] (i.e., No one died).' (NM247)
As Subject: $_1$?óy [$_2$k'úsi $_3$láx $_4$yíl $_5$ti $_6$dóktor $_7$té]. '$_1$There is [$_2$what $_5$the $_6$doctor $_{3,4}$saw $_7$there] (i.e., The doctor saw something there).' (NM513)
As Object: $_1$láx $_2$ša $_3$ká?i [$_4$k'ú $_5$tšè?él $_6$láx $_7$spás $_8$ti $_9$dóktor $_{10}$e]. '$_{1,3}$I have heard $_2$now [$_4$what is $_5$its manner $_8$the $_9$doctor $_{10}$(remote) $_{6,7}$did it] (i.e., I have now heard how the doctor did it).' (NL059)
As Object: $_1$mi $_2$šú? $_3$tšaválbun [$_4$k'úsi $_5$?óra $_6$tšasútik $_7$tál]. '$_1$If $_2$can $_3$you tell me [$_4$what $_5$time $_6$you will return $_7$coming] (i.e., Can you tell me when you will return here)?' (NL082)
As Locative: $_1$láx $_2$st'šáy $_3$yó?nton $_4$ti $_5$k'álal $_6$itál $_7$té [$_8$bú $_9$išánav]. '$_{1,2}$They lost $_3$their hearts $_4$(the) $_5$when $_6$it came $_7$there [$_8$where $_9$they travelled] (i.e., They were amazed when it came there where they were travelling).' (X2.034)
As Descriptive: $_1$tšistšúkun $_2$ti $_3$xkášlan [$_4$bú $_5$tši?ábtex]. '$_2$The $_3$ladino [$_4$where $_5$I work] $_1$ties me (i.e., The ladino where I work keeps me well occupied).' (OD007)
As Axis: $_1$ti[$_2$bú $_3$k'álal $_4$šú? $_5$kú?un]$_6$e $_7$tšaxkóltaot. '$_1$(The) [$_2$where $_3$as far as $_4$is able $_5$by me $_6$(remote)] $_7$I'll help you (i.e., I'll help you as much as I can).' (NM094)
As Possessor: $_1$xá? $_2$ti $_3$spásaxe $_4$ti[$_5$múť'šu $_6$tštál $_7$té $_8$?o]$_9$e. '$_1$That is it: $_2$the $_3$his fare $_4$the [$_5$who $_6$will come $_7$there $_8$(conclusive) $_9$(remote)] (i.e., It's the fare of the one who will go there).' (NM162)

A question construction is used as a relative clause only when the reference is not specific. If the reference is specific, the Determiner ti is used (7.1). Compare the following:

$_1$láx $_2$ká?i [$_3$k'úsi $_4$láx $_5$yál]. '$_{1,2}$I heard [$_3$what $_{4,5}$he said].'
$_1$láx $_2$ká?i [$_3$ti $_4$xétš $_5$láx $_6$yál $_7$e]. '$_{1,2}$I heard [$_3$that $_4$thus $_{5,6}$he said $_7$(remote)].'

Reference may be made indefinite in clauses of the above type by inflecting the interrogative stem for subjunctive mode and postposing no?oš (limitative) (8.5).

[$_1$k'ûsuk$_2$no?oš] $_3$tšak'án $_4$šû? $_5$tšakák'bot. '$_4$Can $_5$I give you [$_2$precisely $_1$what it be] $_3$you want (i.e., I can give you whatever you want).'
[$_1$mût'šuk$_2$no?oš] $_3$tšópol $_4$tšílbaxinik. '$_4$They molest them $_3$wickedly [$_2$precisely $_1$who it be] (i.e., Whoever it is, they molest them wickedly). (F2.175)
$_1$tixná? $_2$ti[$_3$bûk$_4$no?oš] $_5$?óyukutik $_6$té $_7$?óy. '$_1$I know $_2$that [$_4$precisely $_3$where it be] $_5$we are $_6$there $_7$he is (i.e., I know that he is wherever we are).' (F2.111)

Unlike other stative stems, interrogatives do not require subjunctive inflection when occupying the subject position of a negation clause (3.2).

$_1$mû$_2$me [$_3$mût'šu $_4$tšk'ópox]. '$_1$It's not $_2$(emphatic) [$_3$who $_4$will talk] (i.e., No one is to talk).' (X1.011)
$_1$mû$_2$me [$_3$bû $_4$tšbât]. '$_1$It's not $_2$(emphatic) [$_3$where $_4$he will go] (i.e., Don't let him go anywhere).'

3.2. Negation Clauses. A NEGATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on the stative verb stem mû 'is not.' In an earlier paper treating only the verb phrase (Cowan and Merrifield, 1967), mû was considered a particle occurring in the verb phrase. Here it is treated as an independent predicator.

The subject of a Negation Clause may be another clause or a ti-Phrase. The ti-Phrase consists of the preposition ti and a clause subject to the same grammatical constraints as clauses directly occupying the subject position of a Negation Clause.

One such constraint is that if the clause subject is perfective, it must also be marked as subjunctive. This applies to stative clauses occupying this position since they are syntactically perfective (2.6), as well as to perfective active clauses.

$_1$mû [$_2$vînikuk $_3$ti$_4$lâx $_5$spâs$_6$e]. '[$_2$(It be) a man $_3$that $_{4,5}$did it $_6$(remote)] $_1$is not (i.e., It was not a man who did it).'
$_1$mû [$_2$ti$_3$svêntauk]. '$_1$It is not [$_2$on $_3$their account].'
$_1$mû [$_2$smânoxbukun]. '$_1$It is not [$_2$they have bought it for me] (i.e., They have not bought it for me).'

There are two stative stems which contract with mû when following it: xâ? 'it is that' and ?óy 'there is'. They contract to become mâ?uk and mû?yuk, respectively (uk being the subjunctive ending).

$_1$mâ?uk $_2$tixk'ópontik. '$_1$It is not that $_2$we will talk to him.' (X1.055)

$_1$mú ?yuk $_2$k'úsi $_3$lá $_4$xtšántutik. '$_1$There is not $_2$what $_{3,4}$we learned (i.e., We did not learn anything).' (CL029)

A third fused form is mántšuk whose derivation is otherwise unknown, the stem ?ántš not occurring elsewhere in the language unless it can be related to the imperative form ?ántšan 'Be quiet'. As predicator of an independent negation clause, mántšuk has the meaning 'It is of no consequence'. It may have a clause or conditional phrase as subject.

$_1$mántšuk $_2$tšavák'bun. '$_1$It is of no consequence $_2$you give it to me (i.e., It isn't necessary that you give it to me).' (AB115)
$_1$mántšuk $_2$mi$_3$tóyol $_4$stóxol. '$_1$It is of no consequence $_2$if $_4$its price $_3$is high (i.e., It doesn't matter if it is expensive).' (NM602)

A clause based on mántšuk may also occur with the Determiner ti (6.3) and the Deictic ending e (6.4) in the Conditional Position of a clause in the sense of a NEGATIVE CONTRARY-TO-FACT CONDITION.

[$_1$ti$_2$mántšuk $_3$tixt'šún$_4$e] $_5$tškít'š $_6$múl. '[$_1$(The) $_2$it is of no consequence $_3$I believe it $_4$(remote)] $_5$I receive $_6$fault (i.e., If I didn't believe it, I would be sad).' (NL070)
[$_1$ti$_2$mántšuk $_3$itšám $_4$ti$_5$stót $_6$ti$_7$k'ak'al$_8$e] $_8$xétš $_{10}$mú $_{11}$šixtšám. '[$_1$(The) $_2$it is of no consequence $_4$the $_5$father of $_6$the $_7$sun $_8$(remote) $_3$died] $_9$thus $_{10}$it is not $_{11}$we die (i.e., If the sun's father had not died, then we would not die).' (SM013)

A further restraint which applies to the predicator mú is that it must be subjunctive unless its subject is timeless or perfective. The subjunctive of mú (negative) is múk rather than the expected múuk (Cf. mú 'ascend' and its subjunctive múuk).

$_1$múk $_2$tšibát. '$_2$I will go $_1$it be not (i.e., I will not go).'
$_1$múk $_2$šibát. '$_2$I went $_1$it be not (i.e., I did not go).'

The exception to this is when mú is modified by a modal which indicates that the subject is effectively true in present time even though marked for completive or incompletive aspect. The modals in question are ša (perfective) and to (present continuative).

$_1$mú$_2$to $_3$tškák'. '$_3$I will give it $_1$is not $_2$yet (i.e., I will not yet give it).' (AB171)

$_1$mú $_2$ša $_3$tškít'štik $_4$múl. '$_3$We will receive $_4$fault $_1$is not $_2$now (i.e., We will not be sad now).' (MG021)

A further exception has been mentioned above in 3.1; namely, that interrogatives (which are stative verbs) do not require the subjunctive ending when occupying the subject of a negation clause. On the other hand, unless the predicator mú is modified by an appropriate modal–those mentioned above plus the sequence ?o no?oš 'certainly' or me (emphatic)–mú itself must be subjunctive when its subject is interrogative.

$_1$mú $_2$to [$_3$bú $_4$tšasá?be]. '[$_3$Where $_4$you will seek her] $_1$is not $_2$yet (i.e., You have not yet sought her anywhere).' (AB139)

$_1$mú $_2$ša [$_3$bú $_4$k'álal $_5$tsút $_6$ti $_7$kó?ntontik$_8$e]. '[$_3$Where $_4$when $_5$will return $_6$(the) $_7$our hearts $_8$(remote)] $_1$is not $_2$now (i.e., Not at any time did we realize it).' (PP268)

$_1$mú $_2$?o $_3$no?oš [$_4$bú $_5$lí?$_6$i]. '[$_4$Where $_5$he is here $_6$(immediate)] $_1$is not $_2$(conclusive) $_3$precisely (i.e., He is certainly not here anywhere).' (AB137)

$_1$mú $_2$me [$_3$bú $_4$šbát]. '[$_3$Where $_4$he goes] $_1$is not $_2$(emphatic) (i.e., Don't let him go anywhere).' (AJ037)

$_1$múk [$_2$bú $_3$tškáltik]. '[$_2$Where $_3$we will say it] $_1$be it not (i.e., We won't say it anywhere).' (PP213)

Since the subject of a negation clause may only be a clause or a ti-Phrase, in order for constituents which are ordinarily nominal to be negated, they must be reinterpreted as clauses. Their occurrence with the subjunctive ending confirms that they are so reinterpreted. The following examples illustrate how various classes of clause constituents are negated.

Manner: $_1$mú $_2$vókoluk $_3$lá $_4$xtá. '$_2$Be it trouble $_{3,4}$I found it $_1$is not (i.e., I found it without difficulty).' (NM605)

Manner: $_1$mú $_2$xétšuk $_3$láx $_4$yál. '$_1$It is not $_2$be it thus $_{3,4}$he said it (i.e., It wasn't that way that he said it).' (X1.087)

Object: $_1$mú $_2$póšiluk $_3$tixk'án. '$_1$It is not $_2$be it medicine $_3$I want (i.e., It is not medicine I want).'

Object: $_1$mú $_2$?íšimuk $_3$láx $_4$smámbe. '$_1$It is not $_2$be it corn $_{3,4}$he bought for her (i.e., It was not corn that he bought her).'

Subject: $_1$mú $_2$kól $_3$xnít'šonuk $_4$itsúkat. '$_1$It is not $_{2,3}$be it my child $_4$he was jailed (i.e., It was not my child who was jailed).'

Subject: $_1$mi $_2$mú $_3$xó?ukot $_4$láx $_5$amán. '$_1$If $_2$it is not $_3$be it you $_{4,5}$you bought it (i.e., Was it not you who bought it)?'

Time: $_1$mú $_2$ti $_3$?órauk $_4$tšitál. '$_1$It is not $_2$at $_3$be it time $_4$I will come (i.e., I will not come right away).'

Time: $_1$mú $_2$?épuk $_3$k'ák'al $_4$i?áy. '$_1$It is not $_2$be it many $_3$days $_4$he was there (i.e., He was not there many days).' (NM153)

Locative: $_1$mú $_2$lí?uk$_3$i $_4$láx $_5$yák'. '$_1$It is not $_2$be it here $_3$(immediate) $_{4,5}$he put it (i.e., It wasn't here that he put it).'

Locative: ₁mú ₂ti₃tí?koraluk ₄tš?ótš. '₁It is not ₂by ₃be it opening-corral ₄it will enter (i.e., It is not by the gate of the corral that it enters).'

Purpose-Cause: ₁mú ₂ti₃skóxuk ₄póš ₅itšám. '₁It is not ₂by ₃be it the bad cause of ₄liquor ₅he died (i.e., It was not on account of liquor that he died).'

Purpose-Result: ₁mú ₂yú?unuk ₃pléito ₄tixpástik ₅stší?uk. '₁It is not ₂be it because ₃fighting ₄we are doing ₅with them (i.e., It is not because we are fighting with them).' (F2.194)

Quantitative: ₁mú ₂?épuk ₃ták'in ₄láx ₅yák'bun. '₁It is not ₂be it much ₃money ₄,₅he gave me (i.e., It wasn't much money that he gave me).'

Quantitative: ₁mú ₂xkótuk₃no?oš ₄it'šáy ₅ti₆svákaš₇e. '₁It is not ₂be it one (animal) ₃precisely ₄was lost ₅(the) ₆his cattle ₇(remote) (i.e., It was not just one of his cattle that was lost).'

3.3. Attention Clauses. An ATTENTION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on the stative stem xá?. xá? is lexically empty and serves only to direct special attention to its subject. As in the case of other stative verbs, its post-posed pronominal subject may be in cross-reference with a clause-level nominal constituent which, in the third person, may be a noun phrase or an independent clause (including another xá? clause with nonthird person subject).

₁xá? ₂xtót. '₁That is it: ₂he's my father.'

₁xá? ₂tsk'án ₃své?el ₄ti₅kampána₆e. '₁That is it: ₄the ₅bell ₆(remote) ₂wants ₃food.' (FB022)

₁xá? ₂xó?okutik₃i ₄tšix?ók'. '₁That is it: ₂it's we ₃(immediate): ₄we cry.' (PP285)

The pronominal subject may alternately be in double function as a nominal of a following clause which may or may not itself be embedded in a determined phrase. This situation is not limited to third person subjects.

₁xó?on ₂mú ₃láx ₄ká?i. '₁It is I: ₂it is not ₃,₄I heard (i.e., It is I that did not hear).'

₁xó?ot ₂ti₃?áxvalilot ₄kú?untutik₅e. '₁It is you: ₂(the) ₃you are ₄our ₃elected officials ₅(remote).' (CL066)

If a clause occupies its subject, an attention clause may occupy a nominal position of another clause, or the Possessor position of a Possessed Noun Phrase.

As agent: ₁mú₂me ₃šakómesuntutik [₄xó?ot ₅ti₆?áxvalilot ₇kú?untutik₈e]. '₁Not ₂(emphatic) ₃you abandon us (excl) [₄it is you: ₅(the) ₆you are ₇our

$_{8}$elected officials $_{8}$(remote)] (i. e., You who are our elected officials must not fail us).' (CL066)

As indirect goal: $_{1}$xá? $_{2}$vêntisyon $_{3}$lá $_{4}$xk'ámbot [$_{5}$xó?ot $_{6}$atálel $_{7}$tšakóltavan]. '$_{1}$That is it: $_{2}$blessing $_{3,4}$I asked of you [$_{5}$it is you: $_{6}$your nature is $_{7}$you characteristically help] (i. e., It is a blessing I asked of you whose nature it is to help).'

As direct goal: $_{1}$tšaxk'óponot $_{2}$ti$_{3}$kárta [$_{4}$xó?ot $_{5}$ti$_{6}$totil $_{7}$?áxvalilot $_{8}$kú?untutik]. '$_{1}$I will talk to you $_{2}$by $_{3}$letter [$_{4}$(it is) you $_{5}$(the) $_{8}$our $_{6}$top $_{7}$elected officials].' (CL001)

When an attention clause is the possessor of a possessed noun phrase, its subject agrees in person and number with the possessed noun in the Item position of the phrase.

$_{1}$tixk'ántutik $_{2}$vókol $_{3}$ti$_{4}$atòxól [$_{5}$xó?ot $_{6}$ti$_{7}$?óy $_{8}$avábtel$_{9}$e]. $_{1}$We (excl) ask $_{2}$trouble $_{3}$in $_{4}$your presence [$_{5}$it is you $_{6}$that $_{7}$there is $_{8}$your work $_{8}$(remote)] i. e., We ask help of you who have authority).' (CL040)

$_{1}$lá$_{2}$x$_{2}$ša $_{3}$xná?tutik $_{4}$ti$_{5}$lék $_{6}$ti$_{7}$avábtel$_{8}$e [$_{9}$xó?ošuk $_{10}$ti$_{11}$?áxvalilošuk$_{12}$e]. $_{1,3}$We (excl) know $_{2}$now$_{4}$ that $_{5}$is good $_{6}$(the) $_{7}$your work $_{8}$(remote) [$_{9}$it is you $_{10}$(the) $_{11}$you are the elected officials $_{12}$(remote)] (i. e., We now know that your work is good, you who are the elected officials).' (CL011)

An attention clause with xá? modified by the modal to (present continuative) relates two constituents temporally, specifying that the action or state of the second constituent occurs at the time indicated by the first constituent. (It is structurally and semantically parallel to a concomitance clause in a temporal position (3.7)).

In the first two examples below the first constituent is a Time constituent, the second a subject. In the third example, the constituents are conditional and subject.

$_{1}$xá?$_{2}$to [$_{3}$ti$_{4}$febrêro] $_{5}$ti$_{6}$xétš $_{7}$ik'ót $_{8}$ti$_{9}$pàsél. '$_{1}$That is it $_{2}$still [$_{3}$in $_{4}$February] $_{5}$that $_{6}$thus $_{7}$it arrives $_{8}$by $_{9}$being done (i. e., It was not until February that it happened that way).' (NM243)

$_{1}$xá?$_{2}$to [$_{3}$k'álal $_{4}$ti$_{5}$yán $_{6}$vélta] $_{7}$it'ší $_{8}$?oš. $_{1}$That is it $_{2}$still [$_{3}$when $_{4}$at $_{5}$another $_{6}$time] $_{7}$it grew $_{8}$already (i. e., It was not until another time that it grew).' (MG081)

$_{1}$xá?$_{2}$to [$_{3}$mi$_{4}$nisút $_{5}$tál$_{6}$e] $_{7}$tšk'ó $_{8}$xtóxbot $_{9}$ti$_{10}$kíl$_{11}$e. '$_{1}$That is it $_{2}$still [$_{3}$if $_{4}$I return $_{5}$coming $_{6}$(remote)] $_{7}$arriving $_{8}$I will pay you $_{9}$(the) $_{10}$my debt $_{11}$(remote) (i. e., Not until I return will I pay you what I owe you).'

3.4. Manner Clauses. A MANNER CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on stative stems of manner whose subject may be indicative clauses or mi-phrases.

$_1$xá? $_2$lék [$_3$xpástik $_4$lék $_5$k'ín]. '$_1$That is it: $_2$it is good [$_3$we make (a) $_4$good $_5$fiesta] (i. e., It's good that we make a big fiesta).' (FB046)
$_1$tšópol [$_2$ti$_3$k'úsi $_4$tsnópik$_5$e]. '$_1$It is evil [$_2$(the) $_3$what $_4$they are thinking $_5$(remote)].' (MP064)
$_1$vókol [$_2$tstšán $_3$?ábtel]. '$_1$It is trouble [$_2$he learns $_3$work] (i. e., It is with difficulty he learns how to work).' (EW026)
$_1$xá?$_2$me $_3$lék [$_4$mi$_5$tšatál$_6$e]. '$_1$That is it $_2$(emphatic): $_3$it is good [$_4$if $_5$you will come $_6$(remote)] (i. e., It would be good if you would come).' (NM576)

A subset of Manner Clauses have xétš 'thus' as predicate. xétš, an anaphoric substitute, is lexically empty and points back to a preceding lexical form.

$_1$xétš [$_2$iméltsax $_3$ti$_4$xnátutik]. '$_1$It is thus [$_3$(the) $_4$our (excl) house $_2$was made].' (HB021)
$_1$xétš [$_2$ik'ásbat $_3$sk'ób $_4$ti$_5$bólom$_6$e]. '$_1$It is thus [$_4$the $_5$tiger's $_6$(remote) $_3$paw $_2$was broken].' (NT007)

3.5. Location Clauses. A LOCATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on three stative verb stems of location: lí? 'here', té 'there (proximal)', and lúm 'there (distal)'. In addition to the pronoun subject, the clause-level nominal constituent may be a noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause, except for lúm which only occurs with clauses.

Pn only: $_1$mi$_2$lí?ot$_3$i. '$_1$If $_2$you are here $_3$(immediate) (i. e., Are you here)?' (AB007)
Pn only: téanik. 'Be there (pl) (i. e., Stay there).'
N: $_1$lí? [$_2$atúluk'$_3$i]. '$_1$Here are [$_2$your turkeys $_3$(immediate)].' (SM045)
N: $_1$mi $_2$té$_3$to [$_4$amé?]. '$_1$If $_2$there $_3$still [$_4$your mother] (i. e., Is your mother still there)?'
dNP: $_1$lí?$_2$to [$_3$ti$_4$atót$_5$e]. '[$_3$(The) $_4$your father $_5$(remote)] $_1$is here $_2$still.'
tCL: $_1$lí?$_2$me [$_3$tškák']. '$_1$It's here $_2$(emphatic) [$_3$I'll put it].' (AB074)
sCl: $_1$té$_2$ša [$_3$vá?al]. '$_1$It's there $_2$now [$_3$he is standing].' (PP007)
iCl: $_1$té$_2$to [$_3$tš?líinik]. '$_1$It's there $_2$still [$_3$they are angry].' (PP177)
sCl: $_1$lúm [$_2$lék $_3$ti$_4$sxún$_5$e]. '$_1$It's there (distal) [$_2$good $_3$(the) $_4$his book $_5$(remote)] (i. e., His book is very good).' (PP341)

In addition to occurring as an independent sentence (as in the examples above), a Location clause may occupy the locative position of another clause.

$_1$púro $_2$ší?el [$_3$lí? $_4$ti$_5$bálumil]. '$_1$It is simply $_2$fear [$_3$here $_4$in (the) $_5$world].' (F2.004)

$_1$tšbá $_2$kák' [$_3$lúm$_4$to$_5$i]. '$_1$I'll go (and) $_2$put it [$_{3,4}$ away over there$_5$(immediate)].'

It may also occupy the descriptive position of a Noun Phrase or a nominal position of another clause.

As Descriptive: $_1$tšak'úšubinuntutik $_2$xkótoltutik $_3$ti[$_4$lí? $_5$nákaluntutik $_6$ti$_7$yólon $_8$básob]. '$_1$You will pity us (excl) $_2$all of us (excl) $_3$that [$_4$here $_5$we are living $_6$at $_7$its underneathness $_8$Basob] (i.e., You will have pity on all of us who live here at Under Basob).' (CL038)

As Subject: $_1$lék $_2$ti[$_3$té $_4$tš?ábtex $_5$ti$_6$atséb$_7$e] '$_1$Is good $_2$that [$_3$is there $_5$the $_6$your daughter $_7$(remote) $_4$works] (i.e., It is good that your daughter works there).'

As Subject: $_1$sná? [$_2$lúm$_3$e]. '[$_2$That one $_3$(remote)] $_1$knows it.' (PP274)

3.6. Time Clauses. A TIME CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on temporal stative stems whose subject may be an indicative clause.

$_1$pátil [$_2$ibát $_3$ti$_4$sbánkiltak$_5$e]. '$_1$It was afterwards [$_3$(the) $_4$his brothers$_5$(remote) $_2$went].' (AJ015)

$_1$sób [$_2$tšatálik]. '$_1$It is early (that) [$_2$you will come].')X1.224)

$_1$tšá?ex [$_2$tšxúl]. '$_1$It is the day after tomorrow [$_2$he will arrive home].'

In addition to occurring as an independent sentence (as in the examples above), a Time clause may occupy the Time position of another clause, or the axis of a ti-Phrase which occupies the Time position.

$_1$tšaxk'óponot $_2$tšá?ex. '$_1$I will talk to you $_2$the day after tomorrow.'

$_1$ital $_2$ti$_3$pátil. '$_1$He came $_2$at $_3$the back (i.e., He came afterwards).'

It may also occupy the axis of a mi-Phrase or a nominal position of another clause.

As Axis: $_1$más $_2$lék $_3$mi [$_4$sób $_5$tšixtál]. '$_1$Most $_2$good is $_3$if [$_4$it is early $_5$we will come] (i.e., It is best we come early.' (X1.213)

As Subject: $_1$xétš $_2$yù?ún [$_3$pátil $_4$tál $_5$yík'untutik $_6$ti$_7$yájval $_8$kavíltotik$_9$e] $_2$Because of this, $_1$it was thus [$_3$afterwards $_4$came $_5$they called us (excl) $_6$the $_7$bosses of $_8$the presidency $_9$(remote)] i.e., Therefore it was afterwards the authorities came and called us). MS017)

3.7. Concomitance Clauses. A CONCOMITANCE CLAUSE is a subset of clauses based on the stative stem yó? 'same', and which may occupy the

Locative or Temporal position of a clause. The subject of a Concomitance Clause is a clause whose reference is concomitant in time or place with that of the matrix clause.

When the reference is temporal, yó? is always modified by the modal to (present continuative).

$_1$yó?$_2$to [$_3$mú $_4$tšabát] $_5$?álbun$_6$no?oš $_7$kómel $_8$ti$_9$k'úsi $_{10}$tšak'án $_{11}$tixpás$_{12}$e.
'$_1$Is same $_2$still [$_3$it is not $_4$you will go] $_5$tell me $_6$precisely $_7$staying $_8$(the) $_9$what $_{10}$you want $_{11}$I do $_{12}$(remote) (i. e., During the time until you go, tell me what you want me to do).'

$_1$yó?$_2$to [$_3$k'álal $_4$kúšulukutik] $_5$tškálbetik $_6$kómel $_7$ti$_8$kól$_9$xnít'šontik$_{10}$e $_{11}$ti$_{12}$mú $_{13}$me $_{14}$spásik $_{15}$pléto. '$_1$Is same $_2$still [$_3$when $_4$we are alive] $_5$we tell them $_6$staying $_7$(the) $_{8,9}$our children $_{10}$(remote) $_{11}$that $_{12}$it is not $_{13}$(emphatic) $_{14}$they make $_{15}$fighting (i. e., While we are alive, we tell our children that they should not fight).

When the reference is locational, the subject of yó? is a question clause based on bú 'is where'.

$_1$yó? [$_2$bú $_3$ipák'tsax $_4$xún $_5$vélta] $_6$xá? $_7$té $_8$ipák'tsax $_9$yán $_{10}$vélta $_{11}$ti$_{12}$káro$_{13}$e.
'$_1$Is same [$_2$where $_3$it got stuck $_4$one $_5$time] $_6$that is it: $_7$it is there $_8$it got stuck $_9$another $_{10}$time $_{11}$the $_{12}$bus $_{13}$(remote) (i. e., In the same place where it got stuck once, there the bus got stuck again).'

$_1$ibát $_2$yó? [$_3$bú $_4$pínka $_5$?uk$_6$e]. '$_1$He went $_2$is same [$_3$where $_4$is a coffee ranch $_5$also $_6$(remote)] (i. e., He went to the same place where a coffee ranch is also).' (AB136)

3.8. Contingency Clauses. A CONTINGENCY CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on three stative stems borrowed from Spanish: pérsa 'it is necessary' (from a fuérza), repénta 'it is possible' (from de repénte), and ?apurál 'it is determined' (from apurár).

$_1$pérsa [$_2$tšbá $_3$xk'él $_4$ti$_5$xtšámel$_6$e]. '$_1$It is necessary [$_2$going $_3$I look at $_4$the $_5$sick $_6$(remote)] (i. e., I must go and see the sick).' (NM233)

$_1$pérsa [$_2$tixk'án $_3$ti$_4$xát's$_5$e]. '$_1$It is necessary [$_2$I want $_3$the $_4$credit $_5$(remote)] (i. e., I have to ask for it on credit).' (NM403)

$_1$tškál$_2$no?oš $_3$repénta [$_4$tškóm $_5$kuátrosiéntos $_6$pésos $_7$o $_8$más]. '$_1$I am saying it $_2$only $_3$it is possible [$_5$400 $_6$pesos $_7$or $_8$more $_4$will remain] (i. e., I am only saying that it is possible that 400 pesos or more will remain).' (NM382)

$_1$repénta [$_2$tštál $_3$?ók'om]. '$_1$It is possible [$_2$he will come $_3$tomorrow].'

$_1$?apurál [$_2$tsk'án $_3$tšbát $_4$ti$_5$sná]. '$_1$It is determined [$_2$he wants $_3$he will go $_4$to $_5$his house] (i. e., He has decided that he wants to go home).'

$_1$?apurál [$_2$tšixbát]. '$_1$It is determined [$_2$we will go] (i. e., We have decided that we are going).'

3.9. Contrary-to-Fact Clauses. A CONTRARY-TO-FACT CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses which are syntactically similar to Negation Clauses. They are based on four stative stems each of which has unique collocational limitations. The four stems are: k'án 'was nearly fulfilled', náka 'lest it be', táka 'that it were', and máka 'don't let it be'. k'án is a double-function root functioning also as a transitive stem (10.1). The phonological shape of náka, táka, and máka is anomalous. They are very likely fused forms which were once syntacticly complex. This view is supported by evidence from the Ch'enalo' dialect of Tzotzil where the sequence ti ?ák'o is the functional equivalent of Huixtec táka.

These four verbs take subjunctive clauses as subject—máka only perfective clauses; the others, any but perfective clauses (discounting negation clauses which are perfective).

A Clause based on k'án may occur as an independent sentence.

$_1$k'án [$_2$tšámukun]. '$_1$It was nearly fulfilled [$_2$I die] (i.e., I almost died).'
$_1$k'án [$_2$mú $_3$bátukun]. '$_1$It was nearly fulfilled [$_3$I go $_2$is not] (i.e., I almost didn't go).'

A Clause based on náka occupies the purpose-cause position of a clause.

$_1$mú $_2$šabát $_3$náka$_4$me [$_5$smílot]. '$_1$Is not $_2$you go $_3$lest $_4$(emphatic) [$_5$they kill you] (i.e., Don't go lest they kill you).'
$_1$lók'eso $_2$asempat $_3$náka$_4$me [$_5$xášp'uxan $_6$ti $_7$?át'šel]. '$_1$Take off $_2$your sandals $_3$lest$_4$ (emphatic) [$_5$you slip $_6$in (the) $_7$mud].'

A Clause based on táka occupies the Conditional position of a clause.

$_1$táka [$_2$xú ?uk $_3$kú ?un$_4$e]. '$_1$That it were [$_2$it be able $_3$by me $_4$(remote)] (i.e., If I could do it).'
$_1$xá? $_2$lék $_3$táka [$_4$k'ótuk $_5$ti$_6$pásel$_7$e]. '$_1$That is it: $_2$it is good $_3$that it were [$_4$it arrive $_5$by $_6$being done $_7$(remote)] (i.e., It would be good if it happened).'

A Clause based on máka occupies the Object position of a quotation clause based on ?ál 'say' inflected for timeless aspect. In this construction ?ál does not have reference to overt speech, but is best translated as 'thought' (and as completive aspect even though inflected for timeless).

$_1$máka [$_2$xó ?ukot] $_3$škál$_4$e. '$_1$Not let it be [$_2$it be you] $_3$I thought $_4$(remote) (i.e., I thought it was you).'

$_1$máka [$_2$?ɬsimuk $_3$skútšox] $_4$škál. '[$_1$Not let it be [$_2$it be corn $_3$he is carrying] $_4$I thought (i.e., I thought it was corn he was carrying).'

3.10. Sensory Clauses. A SENSORY CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on one of the two noun stems yá?yel 'its feeling', and yɬel 'its same appearance'. It may have an indicative clause as subject. yá?yel is always permuted to a position following its subject or following the predicate of the clause which is its subject. yɬel may permute to a position following the predicate of the clause which is its subject. A Sensory clause is semantically and syntactically similar to a Situation Clause (4.3).

[$_1$?ávyon $_2$ti$_3$lâx $_4$spáxes $_5$ti$_6$plétu] $_7$yá?yel. '[$_1$It is an airplane $_2$that $_{3,4}$stopped $_5$the $_6$fighting] $_7$it seems.' (OD097)

[$_1$más $_2$mú] $_3$yá?yel [$_4$ti$_5$vé?elil$_6$e]. '[$_4$The $_5$food $_6$(remote) (is) $_1$most $_2$savory] $_3$it seems.'

[$_1$mút] $_2$yɬel [$_3$ti$_4$sót's$_5$e]. '[$_1$Is a bird] $_2$it appears [$_3$the $_4$bat $_5$(remote)] (i.e., The bat has the appearance of a bird).'

$_1$yɬel [$_2$amúl$_3$?o]. '[$_2$It is your error $_3$certainly (that)] $_1$has the same appearance (i.e., You still haven't made amends for your error).' (PP161)

3.11. Quantification Clauses. A QUANTIFICATION CLAUSE is a subset of clauses based on the quantitative stative verbs ?ép 'much, many', ?óy 'there is', and xút 'little'.

?óy indicates an unspecified but appreciably large quantity. It may have as subject a noun, a Determined noun phrase, or a clause.

N: $_1$?óy [$_2$ták'in]. '[$_1$There is [$_2$their money] (i.e., They have money).' (PP441)

dNP: $_1$?óy [$_2$ti$_3$máestroetik$_4$e $_5$ti$_6$xúxun $_7$paráxe]. '[$_1$There are [$_2$(the) $_3$teachers $_4$(remote) $_5$in $_6$each $_7$section].' (CL061)

tCl: $_1$?óy [$_2$iyálik $_3$ti$_4$xóbel]. '[$_1$There are [$_2$they said it $_3$in $_4$Las Casas] (i.e., Some in Las Casas said it).' (MC054)

iCl: $_1$?óy [$_2$tšú? $_3$yú?unik]; $_4$?óy [$_5$tšváyik]. '[$_1$There are [$_2$it is able $_3$by them]; $_4$there are [$_5$they sleep] (i.e., Some are able to do it; some sleep).' (SD006)

A question clause may occupy the nominal constituent of an ?óy clause to indicate the existence of an indefinite person, place, etc.

$_1$?óy [$_2$mút'šu $_3$lá $_4$xtá]. '[$_1$There is [$_2$who $_{3,4}$I found] (i.e., I found someone).'

$_1$mú?yuk [$_2$mút'šu $_3$lá $_4$xk'ópon]. '[$_1$There is not [$_2$who $_{3,4}$I talked to] (i.e., I didn't talk to anyone).'

$_1$?óy [$_2$bú $_3$tst'šúnik]. '[$_1$There are [$_2$where $_3$they will believe it] (i.e., There are those somewhere who will believe it).'

$_1$mú ?yuk [$_2$bú $_3$šaxk'ópon]. '$_1$There is not[$_2$where $_3$I talk to you] (i.e., I haven't talked to you anywhere).'

?ép 'many, much' may have a noun, a noun phrase, or a clause as subject.

N: $_1$?ép [$_2$sk'ák'al]. '$_1$There is much [$_2$his fire] (i.e., He has a high fever).' (NM368)
dNP: $_1$?ép$_2$to [$_3$ti$_4$kristšánoetik $_5$lí?$_6$to]. '$_1$Are many $_2$still [$_3$the $_4$people $_5$here $_6$still] (i.e., There are still many people here).' (MS092)
iCl: $_1$?ép [$_2$tš?ók' $_3$ti$_4$kristšánoetik$_5$e]. '$_1$There are many [$_3$the $_4$people $_5$(remote) $_2$cry] (i.e., Many people cry).' (MC048)

xút only occurs with subjunctive inflection, and may have a noun, a noun phrase, or a clause as subject.

Modals: $_1$té$_2$to $_3$péro $_4$xútuk$_5$ša$_6$no?oš. '$_1$It is there $_2$still $_3$but $_4$a little $_5$now $_6$only. (i.e., It is still there but there is only a little now).' (NM559)
N: $_1$lá $_2$xpás $_3$xútuk [$_4$kánal]. '$_{1,2}$I made $_3$it be a little [$_4$gain] (i.e., I made a little gain).' (F2.130)
PNP: $_1$?ák'bun $_2$xútuk [$_3$stšápbil $_4$ti$_5$kólomen$_6$e]. '$_1$Give me $_2$it be a little [$_4$the $_5$bees' $_3$honey $_6$(remote)] (i.e., Give me a little (of) the bees' honey).' (SM025)
tCl: $_1$?ép $_2$xútuk [$_3$lá $_4$xmán $_5$ti$_6$kíšim$_7$e]. '$_1$It is much $_2$it be little [$_{3,4}$I bought $_5$(the) $_6$my corn $_7$(remote)] (i.e., I bought quite a lot of corn).' (NM611)
sCl: $_1$?óy $_2$xútuk [$_3$bátem $_4$ti$_5$xáts]. '$_1$There is $_2$it be a little [$_3$gone $_4$on $_5$credit] (i.e., There is a little out on credit).' (NM170)

xút may occur as axis of a mi-Phrase indicating absolute negation (7.4).

[$_1$mi$_2$xútuk] $_3$mú ?yuk $_4$k'úsi $_5$lá $_6$xtšántutik. '[$_1$If $_2$a little] $_3$there is not $_4$what $_{5,6}$we learned (i.e., We didn't learn even a little).' (CL032)

3.12. Numeral Clauses. A NUMERAL CLAUSE is a subset of clauses based on Numeral Statives.

There are twelve simple NUMERAL STEMS: xún 'one', tšá? 'two', ?óš 'three', tšán 'four', xó? 'five', vák 'six', xúk 'seven', vášak 'eight', bálun 'nine', láxun 'ten', búlutš 'eleven', láxtša? 'twelve'.

Numeral Stems 'thirteen' to 'nineteen' are formed by preposing the Numeral Stems for 'three' to 'nine' to the Numeral Stem for 'ten'.

?óš-láxun 'thirteen'
tšán-láxun 'fourteen'

Numerals are incomplete without a CLASSIFIER Stem of which there are four main classes: a large class of 70 (or more) 'unit' classifiers; vĩnik the 'score' classifier; bók' the 'zontle' (i.e. 400) classifier; and mĩl the 'thousand' classifier. These Classifiers are postposed to Numerals to form the names of the MULTIPLES 1-19 units, 1-19 score, 1-19 zontles, and 1-19 thousands.

xó?-laxun-p'éx 'fifteen round things'
tšá?-ték' 'two plants'
tšán-vĩnik 'four score (i.e. eighty)'
tšá?-bók' 'two zontles (i.e. 800)
?óš-mĩl 'three thousand'

The remainder of the Numerals are formed in two ways. The first involves a third person possessed Multiple with the 'score' classifier, a preposed Basic Numeral other than 'one' (i.e. two to nineteen), and a further preposed Multiple having the general 'unit' classifier Ib. This construction forms the Numerals for non-multiple numbers 21-39, 41-59,..., 361-379.

$_1$xó?ob $_2$stšá?vinik '$_1$five $_2$its-two-scores (i.e. twenty-five)'
$_1$láxuneb $_2$yóšvinik '$_1$ten $_2$its-three-scores (i.e. fifty)'
$_1$xũn $_2$stšá?vinik '$_1$one $_2$its-two-scores (i.e. twenty-one)'
$_1$xó?laxuneb $_2$stšánvinik '$_1$fifteen $_2$its-four-scores (i.e. seventy-five)'

It is difficult to verbalize the meaning of the above construction in English, but it is possible to read such a name as xó?ob stšá?vinik 'twenty-five' as 'five units of the second score'.

Since this system is falling out of use, especially for the higher numbers, it is not certain how the names for 381-399 were formed. There is, however, a simple additive construction based on the third person possessed form of the accompaniment noun stem tšĩ?uk. This construction is also used for naming smaller numbers by those who no longer use the other construction. Thus the following number names are also used based on tšĩ?uk:

$_1$xbók' $_2$stšĩ?uk $_3$láxunvinik '$_1$one-400 $_2$with $_3$ten-score (i.e. 600)'
$_1$?óšvinik $_2$stšĩ?uk $_3$xó?ob '$_1$three-score $_2$with $_3$five (i.e. 65)'
$_1$xúkvinik $_2$stšĩ?uk $_3$láxuneb '$_1$seven-score $_2$with $_3$ten (i.e. 150)'
$_1$láxunvinik $_2$stšĩ?uk $_3$xó?ob '$_1$ten-score $_2$with $_3$five (i.e. 205)'

The classifier mĩl 'thousand' has been taken into the system from Spanish mainly in speaking of quantities of money and is used in a way similar to other classifiers.

$_1$tšá?mſl $_2$lák $_3$stóx. '$_{2,3}$He paid $_1$two thousand (pesos for it).'
$_1$?óšmſl $_2$sk'án. '$_1$Three thousand (pesos) $_2$is needed.'

The Spanish forms cién and ciénto have also been introduced into the system, but require that a numeral which precedes them have the general counter Ib.

[$_1$vášakib $_2$siénto] $_3$lák $_4$stóx $_5$svákaš. '[(It was) $_1$eight $_2$hundred (pesos)] (that) $_{3,4}$he paid for $_5$his ox.'
$_1$xûtuk $_2$mû $_3$stá [$_4$siénto] $_5$itsób. '$_1$It be a little $_2$is not $_3$it reach [$_4$a hundred] $_5$was gathered (i. e., A little less than one hundred (pesos) was collected.' (NM207)
[$_1$sién] $_2$lák $_3$yák'. '[$_1$It is a hundred] (that) $_{2,3}$he gave.'

There is another Basic Numeral ?ó?lol 'one half' which also may occur in place of the preposed Multiple in the construction which names non-multiple numbers. In this construction it indicates one half of the value of the following Classifier.

$_1$?ó?lol $_2$xbók' '$_1$one-half $_2$one-zontle (i. e. 200)'
$_1$?ó?lol $_2$xmſl '$_1$one-half $_2$one-thousand (i. e. 500)'
$_1$?ó?lol $_2$xtšól '$_1$one-half $_2$one-row (i. e. half a row)'

When ?ó?lol occurs in construction with a classifier whose multiplier is more than one, the classifier and its multiplier must be nominalized by the suffix Al, and possessed with third person pronoun prefix (position two).

$_1$?ó?lol $_2$stšá?bok'ol '$_1$one-half (of one zontle) $_2$its-second zontle (i. e. 600)'
$_1$?ó?lol $_2$stšſbal $_3$sién '$_1$one-half (of one hundred) $_2$its-second $_3$hundred (i. e. 150)'
$_1$?ó?lol $_2$stšá?milal '$_1$one-half (of one thousand) $_2$its-second thousand (i. e. 1500)'

?ó?lol may occur in construction with unpossessed nouns.

?ó?lol ?ák'ubal 'one-half a-night (i. e. midnite)'
?ó?lol k'ák'al 'one-half a-day (i. e. midday)'
?ó?lol ?ámak' 'one-half a-patio (i. e. in the middle of the patio).'

?ó?lol may occur in the additive construction with tšſ?uk.

$_1$xbók' $_2$stšǐ?uk $_3$?ó?lol '$_1$one-zontle $_2$with $_3$one-half (i.e. one and a half zontles)'
$_1$tšán-xóv $_2$stšǐ?uk $_3$?ó?lol '$_1$four-armbreadths $_2$with $_3$one-half (i.e. four and a half armbreadths)'
$_1$xûkub $_2$?óra $_3$stšǐ?uk $_4$?ó?lol '$_1$seven $_2$hours $_3$with $_4$one-half (i.e. half past seven o'clock)'

Nouns are classified into gender classes by their occurrence with 'unit' Classifiers. If a Numeral names a number larger than twenty, it ends in other than a 'unit' Classifier. If the noun quantified by such a Numeral is of the gender class which occurs with the general Classifier Ib, the Unit Classifier need not occur.

$_1$tšá?vinik $_2$k'ák'al '$_1$forty $_2$days'
$_1$láxuneb $_2$stšá?vinik $_3$pêšu '$_1$ten (of) $_2$its second-score $_3$pesos (i.e. thirty pesos)'

If, however, the noun belongs to other than the general gender class and is quantified by such a Numeral, the appropriate Unit Classifier must be appended to the Numeral by a ti-Phrase, occupying the Manner position of the Numeral clause. The noun quantified is the subject of the clause.

[$_1$tšá?-mǐl $_2$ti$_3$kót] $_4$ti$_5$svákaš$_6$e. '$_4$(The) $_5$his cattle $_6$(remote) [(number) $_1$two thousand $_{2,3}$(of animals)].'
[$_1$xó?ob $_2$stšá?vinik $_3$ti$_4$p'éx] $_5$láx $_6$avák'bun $_7$ti$_9$naránšaš$_9$e. '$_7$The $_8$oranges $_9$(remote) (that) $_{5,6}$you gave me [(numbered) $_{1,2}$twenty-five $_{3,4}$(of round things)].'

Numeral clauses may occur as independent sentences as in the examples above, or occupy the nominal positions of clauses.

$_1$láx $_2$smánik [$_3$tšá?kot]. '$_{1,2}$They bought [$_3$two (animals)].' (FB015)
$_1$itál [$_2$tšá?vo? $_3$máyol]. '[$_{2,3}$Two (biped) police] $_1$came.' (FB029)
$_1$šatál $_2$k'álal [$_3$ti$_4$xó?laxuneb $_5$k'ák'al]. '$_1$You come $_2$(when) [$_3$in $_4$fifteen $_5$days].' (NM070)
$_1$bá $_2$sxák' [$_3$ti$_4$?óštšop $_5$ná]. '$_1$Went $_2$they ask [$_3$at $_4$three-kinds $_5$houses] (i.e., They went and asked at the houses of three different families).'

The numeral xûn 'one' occurs without the general classifier. In construction with other classifiers it occurs as x.

$_1$ti[$_2$xkót]$_3$e $_4$itšám $_5$ti $_6$?óra. '$_1$The [$_2$one-animal] $_3$(remote) $_4$died $_5$at $_6$once.' (MG077)

$_1$k'ú $_2$š?êlan $_3$ti[$_4$xp'éx] $_5$sát$_6$e. '$_1$What $_2$is its circumstance $_3$the [$_4$one (round thing)] $_5$her eye $_6$(remote) (i.e., How is her one eye)?' (NL080)

The numeral xún 'one' modified by the modal to (present continuative), may occur as predicator of a clause whose subject is a Sensory (3.10) or a Situation (4.3) clause.

$_1$xún$_2$to [$_3$tšitáxin $_4$š?êlan] $_5$pêro $_6$tsóts $_7$?uk. '$_1$One $_2$still [$_3$I am playing $_4$is the circumstance] $_5$but $_6$it is difficult $_7$also (i.e., It seems to look like I'm playing but it is also difficult).' (NL029)

$_1$xún$_2$to [$_3$lék $_4$yá?yel]. '$_1$One $_2$still [$_3$it is good $_4$it seems] (i.e., It seems like it is good).' (NM461)

$_1$xún$_2$to [$_3$x?ók' $_4$mú $_5$šú? $_6$yá?yel]. '$_1$One $_2$still [$_3$one-moment $_4$it is not $_5$it is able $_6$it seems] (i.e., For amoment it seems like it is not possible to do).' (EW007)

There are four special numerals that may occupy the Time position of a clause. They consist of the numeral stems tšá? 'two' or ?óš 'three' and the classifier stems ex 'future day' or xe 'past day'. vólxe 'yesterday' is probably also derived in the same way from vól 'to roll into a ball'.

$_1$tšibát [$_2$tšá?ex]. '$_1$I will go [$_2$two-future-days] (i.e., I will go the day after tomorrow).'

$_1$té $_2$ni?ábtex [$_3$tšábxe]. '$_1$It is there $_2$I worked [$_3$two-past-days] (i.e., It was there (that) I worked two days ago).'

$_1$lá $_2$xk'ópon [$_3$?óšxe]. '$_1$, $_2$I talked to him [$_3$three-past-days] (i.e., I talked to him three days ago).' (PP339)

$_1$ni?áy $_2$ti$_3$xóbel [$_4$vólxe]. '$_1$I went and returned $_2$to $_3$Las Casas [$_4$ yesterday].'

SUBSETS OF NON-STATIVE CLAUSES

There are several subsets of clauses based on active intransitive and active transitive stems which may have an extended list of forms as normal constituents beyond those of other clauses. A few of such subsets are discussed in this chapter under the following headings:

1. Description Clauses
2. Permission Clauses
3. Situation Clauses
4. Demonstration Clauses
5. Capability Clauses
6. Aspectual Clauses
7. Quotation Clauses

4.1. Description Clauses. A DESCRIPTION CLAUSE is one of a broadly conceived class of clauses whose object constituent (if transitive) or subject constituent (if intransitive) may be a direct quotation, a conditional phrase, or a clause of one subset or another. There are several subsets of Description Clauses based on the selectional restrictions of particular verbs. Some of these are illustrated below.

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as ?ál 'say', ?á?i 'hear', xák' 'ask', k'él 'look', nóp 'think', which may take as object question clauses, active indicative clauses, quotations, and conditional phrases.

$_1$tšakálbot $_2$[k'úsi $_3$tixpás]. '$_1$I will tell you [$_2$what $_3$I will do]. (NL025)

$_1$láx$_2$ša $_3$ká?i [$_4$?óšib $_5$yélta $_6$itfx $_7$ti$_8$kampána$_9$e]. '$_{1,3}$I heard $_2$now [$_7$the $_8$bell $_9$(remote) $_6$rang $_4$three $_5$times].' (FB008)

$_1$xétš $_2$láx $_3$yál $_4$ti$_5$xnf?$_6$e [$_7$šatál $_8$k'álal $_9$ti$_{10}$xó?laxuneb $_{11}$k'ák'ál], $_{12}$stšf. '$_1$It is thus $_4$(the) $_5$my father-in-law $_6$(remote) $_{2,3}$said, ["$_7$Come $_8$(when) $_9$in $_{10}$fifteen $_{11}$days], "$_{12}$he said.' (NM070)

$_1$tšaxák'bot [$_2$mi$_3$láx $_4$avfú š $_5$ti$_6$?infórme$_7$e]. '$_1$I will ask you [$_2$if $_{3,4}$you received $_5$the $_6$report $_7$(remote)].' (NM314)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as ná? 'know', ?fl 'see', k'án 'want', tá 'find', which may take as object question clauses, independent active indicative clauses, and conditional phrases.

$_1$mú $_2$xmá? [$_3$k'ú $_4$tšè?él $_5$tixták $_6$tálel]. '$_1$It is not $_2$I know [$_3$what is $_4$the manner $_5$I will send it $_6$coming] (i.e., I don't know how I will send it to you).' (NM177)

$_1$ikíltutik |$_2$itál]. '$_1$We (excl) saw [$_2$it come].' (OD088)
$_1$mú $_2$sk'án [$_3$mi$_4$tstóy $_5$sbáik $_6$ti$_7$stóxol]. '$_1$It is not $_2$he wants [$_3$if $_4$they raise up $_5$themselves $_6$before $_7$him] (i.e., He doesn't want them to go their own way).' (NL142)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as t'šún 'believe' which may take as object questions clauses, quotations, and independent active indicative clauses.

$_1$ʔák'o $_2$st'šúmbot [$_3$k'úsi $_4$tšaválbe]. '$_1$Let him $_2$believe you [$_3$what it is $_4$you will tell him].' (NL078)
$_1$yúʔun $_2$tst'šúnik [$_3$mól$_4$ša $_5$tštíxvan $_6$stší]. '$_1$Because $_2$they believe ["$_3$He is old $_4$now, $_5$he throws curses," $_6$they said.'] (F1.046)
$_1$mú$_2$ša $_3$xt'šúntik [$_4$ ʔóy $_5$xtíxvanex]. '$_1$Not $_2$now $_3$we believe [$_4$there is $_5$a curse-thrower] (i.e., We don't believe any longer in curse-throwers).' (F2.050)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as mála 'wait for', sáʔ 'look for' which may take as object question clauses or active indicative clauses.

$_1$tixsáʔtik [$_2$k'úsitik $_3$xpíkt'šit'š]. '$_1$We look for [$_2$what $_3$they are witchdoctors] (i.e., We look for some witchdoctor).' (MG051)
$_1$lá $_2$xmálatutik [$_3$itál $_4$ti$_5$xtómas$_6$e]. '$_{1,2}$We waited for [$_3$he came$_4$ (the) $_5$Thomas $_6$(remote)] (i.e., We waited for Thomas to come).' (F2.141)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as ʔóxtikin 'be familiar with', t'úx 'choose', tšól 'explain', méltsan 'make, repair', pás 'do' which may take as object of the clause question clauses.

$_1$múk $_2$xkóxtikin [$_3$k'úsi $_4$sbí]. '$_1$It be not $_2$I was familiar with [$_3$what is $_4$its name] (i.e., I didn't know what his name was).' (NM012)
$_1$ʔák'o$_2$me $_3$xpástutik [$_4$k'ú $_5$sk'án $_6$avóʔnton]. '$_1$Let it $_2$(emphatic) $_3$we (ex) do [$_4$what it is $_5$wants $_6$your heart] (i.e., May we do what you want).' (MP034)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as kúy 'suppose' which may take as object of the clause independent active indicative clauses.

[$_1$kúšul] $_2$xkúyoxtik. '$_2$We have supposed [$_1$it is alive].' (PP258)
$_1$ixkúy [$_2$ti$_3$tšák' $_4$tšámel]. '$_1$We supposed [$_2$that $_3$it brought $_4$sickness].' (F1.004)

There is a small subset of intransitive verbs such as tóxob 'become right' which may take as subject question clauses and independent active indicative clauses.

$_1$mú $_2$šitóxob [$_3$ti$_4$bú $_5$ti$_6$snáe]. '$_1$It is not $_2$I am enlightened [$_3$(the) $_4$where is $_5$(the) $_6$his house $_7$(remote)] (i.e., I don't know where his house is).'
$_1$mú $_2$šitóxob [$_3$tixpás $_4$ti$_5$kárta]. '$_1$It is not $_2$I am enlightened [$_3$I will make $_4$(the) $_5$letter] (i.e., I don't know how to write a letter).' (NL051)

There is a small subset of intransitive verbs such as tún 'serve' which may take as subject independent active indicative clauses, Demonstration clauses, and Conditional phrases.

$_1$mú $_2$štún [$_3$ti$_4$xétš $_5$lá $_6$xpás $_7$lúm$_8$e]. '$_1$It is not $_2$it serves [$_3$that $_4$it is thus $_{5,6}$I did $_7$that $_8$(remote)] (i.e., It is bad that I did it that way).' (PP035)
$_1$mú $_2$štún [$_3$avǐ $_4$š?élan $_5$tstǐk' $_6$sbáik$_7$e]. '$_1$It is not $_2$it serves [$_3$you see $_4$the circumstance is $_5$they put in $_6$themselves $_7$(remote)] (i.e., It is not good the way they got themselves involved in it).' (PP055)
$_1$mú $_2$štún [$_3$mi$_4$tšixbát]. '$_1$It is not $_2$it serves [$_3$if $_4$we will go] (i.e., It is not good if we go).'

There is a small subset of intransitive verbs such as vǐnax 'appear' which may take as subject an independent active indicative clause.

$_1$ivǐnax [$_2$ti$_3$mú $_4$kúšuluk]. '$_1$It appeared [$_2$that $_3$it is not $_4$alive].' (X2.207)
$_1$ivǐnax [$_2$ti$_3$tšk'á? $_4$ti$_5$té?]. '$_1$It appeared [$_2$that $_4$the $_5$wood $_3$is rotting].' (X2.207)

4.2. Permission Clauses. A PERMISSION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on the transitive stem ?ák' 'give'. It has a subjunctive clause or a negative clause as goal, and may itself be indicative or injunctive.

$_1$lax $_2$yák' [$_3$nákluk]. '$_{1,2}$He permitted [(that) $_3$he be seated].'
$_1$?ák'o [$_2$mú $_3$šiyák'bun]. '$_1$Let it be (that) [$_2$not $_3$he give it to me].'
$_1$tsk'án $_2$ti $_3$?ák'o [$_4$st'šúmbeik $_5$smántal$_6$?uk]. '$_1$They want $_2$(that) $_3$let it be [$_4$they obey $_5$their commands $_6$also].'

An injunctive permission clause with inclusive person subject, and only a predicate constituent (viz. kák'tik), functions as an interjection of pertinacity.

[$_1$xt'šámuntik] $_2$kák'tik [$_3$anênebotš$_4$e]. '$_2$Come on now, [$_1$lend me $_3$your nice little gourd $_4$(remote)].'

[$_1$k'ú $_2$stú $_3$avú ?un] $_4$kák'tik. '$_4$Come on now, [$_1$what is $_2$its use $_3$by you] (i. e., Come on now, what use do you have for it)?'

The perfective reflexive form of ?ák' with the same person of subject as its object clause indicates that the performance referred to by the object clause is in process.

$_1$kák'ox $_2$bá [$_3$tixtóxobtas $_4$yú ?un $_5$mú $_6$šóxtikin $_7$bú $_8$lék $_9$ti $_{10}$?ánts $_{11}$e]. '$_{1,2}$I am in the process [$_3$I am guiding him $_4$because $_5$it is not $_6$he is familiar with $_7$where $_8$are good $_9$the $_{10}$women $_{11}$(remote)] (i. e., I am in the process of guiding him because he doesn't know where the best girls are).' (NM017)

$_1$sk'án $_2$?ép $_3$póšil $_4$yíp $_5$ti $_6$?óra $_7$to $_8$yú ?un $_9$yák'ox $_{10}$sbá [$_{11}$tsyáktsax] $_{12}$š?élan. '$_1$He needs $_2$a lot of $_3$medicine for $_4$strength $_5$at $_6$once $_7$still $_8$because $_{9,10}$he is in the process [$_{11}$he is becoming weaker] $_{12}$is the appearance (i. e., He needs a lot of medicine for strength right away because it appears he is in the process of becoming weaker).' (NM534)

4.3. Situation Clauses. A SITUATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on š?élan, the intransitive verb stem ?élan 'is the appearance' with third person subject. It may have an indicative clause as subject. š?élan always follows its subject when occurring as an independent clause. When embedded, š?élan may permute to a position following the predicate of the clause which is its subject. A Situation Clause is semantically and syntactically similar to a Sensory clause (3.10).

[$_1$t'sí?ukutik $_2$tšixyílukutik] $_3$š?élan. '[$_1$We are dogs $_2$they see us] $_3$ is the appearance (i. e., It seems they treat us like dogs).' (PP094)

[$_1$yák'ox $_2$sbá $_3$tsyáktsax] $_4$š?élan. '[$_{1,2}$He is in the process $_3$he is becoming weaker] $_4$is the appearance (i. e., It appears that he is becoming weaker).' (NM534)

$_1$avík [$_2$š?élan $_3$tšismáxukutik]. '$_1$You see [$_2$its appearance is $_3$they are hitting us] (i. e., See how they hit us).' (PP168)

A ?élan clause may occupy the subject of a Quantitative Clause based on xún to.

$_1$xún $_2$to [$_3$tšámen $_4$ša $_5$š?élan $_6$ti $_7$t'sí? $_8$e]. '$_1$It is one $_2$still [$_3$it is dead $_4$now $_5$is the appearance $_6$the $_7$dog $_8$(remote)] (i. e., The dog looks like it's dead).'

The difference in meaning between yá?yel (3.10) and š?élan is quite subtle. š?élan has reference to the prima facie visual impression given, whereas yá?yel has reference to non-visual impressions.

[$_1$lék] $_2$š?élan [$_3$ti$_4$ká$_5$e]. '[$_3$The $_4$horse $_5$(remote)] $_2$looks [$_1$good].'
[$_1$lék] $_2$yá?yel [$_3$ti$_4$tráto$_5$e]. '[$_3$The $_4$agreement $_5$(remote)] $_2$seems [$_1$O. K.].'

4.4. Demonstration Clauses. A DEMONSTRATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of transitive clauses based on the two transitive verb stems ?ĩ 'see', and ?á?i 'hear', inflected with second person subject. In this construction the final consonant of the ?ĩ stem never occurs, and the non-stressed vowels may not occur. The object of an avĩ clause may be a noun, a possessed noun phrase, or a clause. The object of an avá?i clause is always a clause.

N: $_1$k'élo$_2$me $_3$avĩ [$_4$vákaš$_5$i] $_6$tsvé? $_7$tšóbtik. '$_1$Take care of $_2$(emphatic) $_3$you see [$_4$a cow $_5$(immediate)] $_6$it is eating $_7$the cornfield (i. e., Take care of that cow right there; it is eating the cornfield).'
PNP: $_1$mi$_2$šú? $_3$tšakóltaun $_4$avĩ [$_5$yépal $_6$ti$_7$kĩ$_8$e]. '$_1$If $_2$can $_3$you help me with $_4$you see [$_5$the amount of $_6$(the) $_7$my debt $_8$(remote)] (i. e., Can you let me have this amount on credit)?' (NM614)
iCl: $_1$avĩ [$_2$tšópol$_3$no?oš $_4$tspásik $_5$ti$_6$kristšánoetik$_7$i]. '$_1$(You) see (it) [$_5$the $_6$people $_7$(immediate) $_4$do $_3$only $_2$evil].' (PP032)
iCl: $_1$vá?i [$_2$it'óm $_3$túk']. '$_1$Hear it [$_2$a gun $_3$was fired].'

An Interrogation clause may occur as object of a Demonstration Clause.

$_1$avĩ [$_2$k'ú $_3$tšè?él $_4$láx $_5$kó?ntontik$_6$e]. '$_1$You see it [$_2$what is $_3$the manner $_5$our hearts $_6$(remote) $_4$finished] (i. e., See how we finished).' (PP115)
$_1$avá?i [$_2$k'úsi $_3$tšál$_4$e]. '$_1$(You) hear (it) [$_2$what it is $_3$he says $_4$(remote)].' (AB170)

A Situation clause may occur as object of a Demonstration clause.

$_1$vá?i [$_2$š?élan $_3$tsnópik $_4$xmúltik]. '$_1$You hear it [$_2$its appearance is $_3$they are thinking up $_4$our sin] (i. e., Hear how they are slandering us).' (PP215)
$_1$vĩ [$_2$š?élan $_3$tst'šúnik$_4$i]. '$_1$You see it [$_2$its appearance is $_3$they believe it $_4$(immediate)] (i. e., See how it appears they believe it).' (PP217)

An avĩ clause may occupy a nominal position of another clause.

In Subject: $_1$?óy $_2$té $_3$ti$_4$méxiko [$_5$avĩ $_6$bĩk'it $_7$?espéxo]. '$_1$There are $_2$there $_3$in $_4$Mexico [$_5$you see them $_6$little $_7$glasses] (i. e., There are there in Mexico those little glasses).' (NM597)
In Object: $_1$bá $_2$k'óponik [$_3$avĩ $_4$sánto$_5$e]. '$_1$Go (and) $_2$talk to [$_3$you see it $_4$a saint $_5$(remote)] (i. e., Go and talk to that saint).' (PP066)

In Descriptive: $_1$tá$_2$me $_3$šatákbun $_4$tálel $_5$sk'éšol $_6$ti$_7$kárta [$_8$avĺ$_9$to]. '$_3$You send me $_4$coming $_5$its substitute $_6$the $_7$letter [$_8$you see it $_9$still] $_1$is found $_2$(emphatic) (i. e., You will send me an answer to this letter).' (NM488)

4. 5. Capability Clauses. A CAPABILITY CLAUSE is one of a subset of pseudo-passive transitive clauses. It is grammatically anomalous in two respects. First, it has a goal as subject and the agent constituent is based on the associative noun stem ú?un as in a true transitive passive clause. Second, the verb stem—which may be intransitive or transitive—occurs with active intransitive inflection. The construction indicates capability (or if negated, lack thereof).

$_1$tšk'ót $_2$kú?un. '$_1$It arrives there $_2$by me (i. e., I can get it there).'
[$_1$mú $_2$šmán $_3$avú?un] $_4$ti$_5$vákaš$_6$e. '$_4$The $_5$ox $_6$(remote) [$_1$it is not $_2$it buys $_3$by you] (i. e., You can't buy the ox).'

The stative verb stem xú? has the same meaning as the Capability clause construction; viz. 'is able to'. This means that it is possible to convey this meaning either by using xú? as a predicator, or by employing the capability construction. The two clauses which follow have the same meaning. (Note that šú? is the timeless aspect form of xú?.)

$_1$šú? $_2$kú?untutik $_3$tixtšántutik $_4$ti$_5$xún$_6$e. '(It) $_1$is able $_2$by us (that) $_3$we learn $_4$the $_5$paper $_6$(remote) (i. e., We can learn to read).'
$_1$tstšán $_2$kú?untutik $_3$ti$_4$xún$_5$e. '(It) $_1$learns $_2$by us $_3$the $_4$paper $_5$(remote) (i. e., We can learn to read).'

4. 6. Aspectual Clauses. There are two verb stems which interfere with a clear interpretation of the system of aspectual inflection.

The first of these is the intransitive verb stem lá̱x 'finish'. It may occur as a regular intransitive verb stem with intransitive inflection.

$_1$nixlá̱x $_2$ti$_3$máxel. '$_1$We were finished $_2$by $_3$beating (i. e., We were badly beaten).'
$_1$ilá̱x $_2$ti$_3$póšil$_4$e. '$_2$The $_3$medicine $_4$(remote) $_1$is finished.'

It also may occur preceding transitive verb stems in the manner of an auxiliary verb. As in the case of other auxiliaries, the completive aspect is realized as null before lá̱x, and the nuclear verb of the verb phrase is subjunctive. Unlike other auxiliaries, however, when lá̱x occurs with completive aspect, it adds no auxiliary meaning to the nuclear verb, but merely has the same meaning as a simple completive aspect form without auxiliary.

lâx yák'bun. 'He gave it to me.' (DB013)
niyák'bun. 'He gave it to me.'

In closely related Tzeltal, the cognate lá is the only form used to indicate completive aspect of transitive verbs.

The other case of interference in the system of aspectual inflection concerns the transitive root tá 'find'.

$_1$tšatá $_2$amóton. '$_1$You will find $_2$your gifts (i.e., You will receive gifts).' (VA028)
nistáun. 'He found me.'

In addition to occurring as predicator in independent clauses of the type illustrated above, tá functions in limited cases as equivalent to incompletive aspect inflection. In such cases, the following conditions obtain:

(1) tá itself is devoid of inflection acting like a stative verb stem rather than an active transitive stem.

(2) It is the predicator of the clause, having a clause as subject whose predicator is inflected for timeless or incompletive aspect.

(3) tá only functions this way when modified by a modal.

$_1$tá$_2$ša $_3$šaxná?ošuk. '(That) $_3$I think of you (pl) $_1$is found $_2$now (i.e., I am lonely for you (pl) now).'
$_1$tá $_2$?o$_3$no?oš $_4$tšbá $_5$stóx $_6$smûl. '(That) $_4$he will go $_5$pay for $_6$his misdeed $_1$is found $_2$surely $_3$precisely (i.e., He will surely go and pay for his misdeed).'

This construction adds nothing to the lexical information conveyed by the other elements but seems only to direct more attention to the modal(s). Compare the following examples:

$_1$šaxná?ošuk$_2$ša. '$_1$I am lonely for you $_2$now.'
$_1$tšbá $_2$stóx$_3$?o$_4$no?oš $_5$smûl. '$_{3,4}$Surely $_1$he will go (and) $_2$pay for $_5$his misdeed.'

4.7. Quotation Clauses. A quotation is DIRECT or INDIRECT as defined by the occurrence of direct quotation verbs based on the two stems: tšî 'say' and út 'tell'. A direct quote is followed by a direct quotation verb; an indirect quote is not.

$_1$lâx $_2$káltutik [$_3$?ût'šan $_4$škûtutik]. '$_{1,2}$We (excl) said, [$_3$"Drink," $_4$we (excl) told him].'

$_1$lâx $_2$kâltutik [$_3$tškût'štutik]. '$_{1,2}$We (excl) said (that) [$_3$we would drink it].'

As in the above example (and as mentioned above in 4.1), there are several verbs which may have a quotation as object. Such verbs are inflected for an object, and the quotation may be that object. This is not the case with Direct Quotation verbs.

Verbs based on tšʃ 'say' are always intransitive and are not in cross-reference with their quotation constituent. In the following examples, the verb stšʃ 'he said' is intransitive. In the first example it is preceded by a subject and a quotation; in the second by a Time constituent and a quotation.

$_1$ti $_2$xún $_3$e [$_4$k'ók' $_5$škʃl] $_6$stšʃ. '$_1$The $_2$one $_3$(remote) (said) ["$_5$I see $_4$fire,"] $_6$he said.' (DB007)

$_1$k'álal $_2$ti $_3$itšám $_4$e [$_5$mú $_6$ša?ók' $_7$mé?$_8$e $_9$tšbá $_{10}$xkûses $_{11}$tál $_{12}$ti $_{13}$xtót $_{14}$e] $_{15}$stšʃ, '$_1$When $_2$he $_3$died $_4$(remote), ["$_5$Don't $_6$cry, $_7$mother $_8$(remote), $_9$I'll go (and) $_{10}$bring to life $_{11}$(coming) $_{12}$(the) $_{13}$my father $_{14}$(remote),"] $_{15}$he said.' (SM003)

In that a direct quotation may occupy a nominal position of a clause, it may also be determined by ti 'the'. In keeping with the fact that the quotation is not cross-referenced in the quotation verb, it seemingly also can be ignored in the placement of ti and following deictic e. Rather than flanking the entire quotation clause, these two elements may flank only the remainder of the clause, leaving the quotation outside. When the determiner ti precedes the whole clause—including the quotation—no deictic ending occurs; when the quotation remains 'outside', ti and e both occur.

$_1$lâx $_2$yál $_3$[ti] $_4$tšák' $_5$tšámel $_6$stšʃ. '$_{1,2}$He said $_3$[that] "$_4$It brings $_5$sickness," $_6$he said.'

$_1$tšál $_2$?uk $_3$?ák'o $_4$yʃt'š $_5$stóxol $_6$yábtel $_7$[ti] $_8$mût'šu $_9$tš?ábtex [$_{10}$e] $_{11}$ti $_{12}$stšʃ $_{13}$e. '$_1$It says $_2$also "$_7$[The] $_8$one who $_9$works $_{10}$(remote) $_3$let him $_4$receive $_5$pay for $_6$his work, $_{11}$(the) $_{12}$it says $_{13}$(remote).'

As the axis of a k'alal- Phrase, the entire clause may be determined and e may close the clause.

$_1$k'álal [$_2$ti $_3$mú $_4$šlâx $_5$ti $_6$bálumil $_7$e $_8$stšʃ $_9$e] $_{10}$xétš $_{11}$?ún $_{12}$taná $_{13}$nʃtšim $_{14}$no?oš $_{15}$kó?ntontik $_{16}$stšʃ. '$_1$When [$_2$(the) "$_5$The $_6$world $_7$(remote) $_3$is not $_4$coming to an end," $_8$they said $_9$(remote)], "$_{11}$Because of this, $_{10}$it is thus $_{12}$now $_{13}$are blooming $_{14}$precisely $_{15}$our hearts, $_{16}$they said (i.e., When "The world is not coming to an end," they said, "For this reason now we are happy," they said).' (VA016)

A direct Quotation Clause may also occupy the Conditional position of a clause. In this position the Direct Quotation clause occupies the axis of a relator phrase based on mi 'if' which in this case—like ti—'ignores' the quotation and precedes only the remainder of the clause.

[$_1$tší ?ábtex] $_2$mi$_3$tšixtšĺ$_4$e $_5$?ák'o $_6$k'ótuk $_7$ti $_8$pásel $_9$stšĺ $_{10}$ti $_{11}$présidente$_{12}$e.
'[$_1$"I'll work,"] $_2$if $_3$we say $_4$(remote), "$_5$ let $_{6-8}$it come to pass," $_{10}$the $_{11}$president $_{12}$(remote) $_9$said.'

[$_1$?ák'o $_2$abáik $_3$ti$_4$pásel $_5$ti$_6$muk'] $_7$mi$_8$stšĺ $_9$ti$_{10}$káxvaltik$_{11}$e $_{12}$š?útat $_{13}$ti$_{14}$pedro $_{15}$ti$_{16}$juan$_{17}$e. ["$_1$Let $_2$yourselves $_{3-6}$be honored,"] $_7$if $_8$(the) $_{10}$our Lord $_{11}$(remote) $_8$said, $_{12}$they were told $_{13}$(the) $_{14}$Peter (and) $_{15}$(the) $_{16}$John $_{17}$(remote) (i.e., Let yourselves be honored, did our Lord say to Peter and John)?' (X1.089)

A Direct Quotation Clause may also occupy the Subject of a Negation or a Contrary-to-Fact Clause. In this position the quotation is also left 'outside'.

$_1$mû $_2$láx $_3$yál [$_4$?élk'axan $_5$mílvanan] $_6$mûk $_7$stšĺ. '$_1$It is not $_{2,3}$he said ["$_4$Steal, $_5$kill,"] $_6$it be not $_7$he said it (i.e., He did not say, "Steal, kill.").'

[$_1$lí?oy $_2$ti$_3$stóxol$_4$e] $_5$táka $_6$tšíuk$_7$e. '[$_1$Here is $_2$the $_3$price of it $_4$(remote),] $_5$if (it were) $_6$he would say $_7$(remote).'

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

In this chapter classification of nouns is discussed, followed by a description of the Descriptive Noun Phrase and the Possessed Noun Phrase. The chapter closes with a description of restricted subsets of Possessed Noun Phrases.

5.1-5.4 Noun Classification

There are three classes of nouns defined by patterns of possession.

1. Unpossessable Nouns.
2. Optionally Possessed Nouns
3. Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

5.1. Unpossessable Nouns. An UNPOSSESSABLE NOUN may not occur with a pronoun as possessor. It may be simple or composite. Composite unpossessable nouns include personal names.

$_1$tšapásbun [$_2$pertón]. '$_1$You will do me [$_2$pardon] (i. e., You will pardon me).' (CL078)
$_1$xá? $_2$ti[$_3$tótil$_4$e] $_5$ti$_6$ibát$_7$e. '$_1$It is that $_2$the [$_3$father $_4$(remote)] $_5$who $_6$went $_7$(remote) (i. e., It is the father who went).'
$_1$itál $_2$ti[$_3$tótil-pále$_4$e]. '$_2$The [$_3$head priest $_4$(remote)] $_1$came.'
$_1$mi$_2$tšamán [$_3$tón-kášlan]. '$_1$If $_2$you will buy [$_3$eggs] (i. e., Will you buy eggs)?'
$_1$mi$_2$ibát $_3$ti [$_4$xpétul] $_5$avú?un$_6$e. '$_1$If $_3$(the) $_5$your [$_4$Peter] $_6$(remote) $_2$went (i. e., Did your Peter go).'
$_1$šú? $_2$tšbá $_3$yálbe $_4$ti[$_5$šmál] $_6$kú?un$_7$e. '$_4$(The) $_6$my [$_5$Mary] $_7$(remote) $_1$can $_2$go (and) $_3$tell her.'

5.2. Optionally Possessed Nouns. An OPTIONALLY POSSESSED NOUN may occur with or without a pronoun as possessor. It may be either simple or composite.

$_1$káxal $_2$ti[$_3$ká?] $_4$ibát. '$_1$Mounted $_2$on [$_3$a horse] $_4$he went.' (MC051)
$_1$?ép $_2$?išim $_3$isvé? [$_4$ská?]. '$_1$It was much $_2$corn (that) [$_4$his horse] $_3$ate.' (OD048)

$_1$vókol $_2$tstšán [$_3$?ábtel]. '$_1$(It's) with difficulty $_2$they learn (how to) [$_3$work].' (EW026)
$_1$?óy [$_2$kábtel]. '$_1$There is [$_2$my work] (i. e., I have work to do).'
$_1$xá? [$_2$x-?ábteletik]. '$_1$It is that: [$_2$work-ers] (i. e., They are workers).' (X2. 160)
$_1$mi $_2$?óy [$_3$avax-?ábtel]. '$_1$If $_2$there is [$_3$your work-er] (i. e., Do you have any workers)?'
$_1$?óy [$_2$?át'š-na] $_3$lúm$_4$to$_5$i. '$_1$There is [$_2$a new house] $_3$there $_4$still $_5$(immediate) (i. e., There is a new house away over there).'
$_1$ixú? $_2$ša $_3$yú?un $_4$ti[$_5$yát'š-na$_6$e]. '$_1$It was able $_2$already $_3$by him $_4$(the) [$_5$his new house $_6$(remote)] (i. e., He has finished his new house).'

An IMPERSONAL NOUN is one of a subset of optionally possessed nouns which may only occur with an impersonal possessor. An Impersonal noun is derived from an Unpossessable noun, an Optionally possessed noun, or a temporal stative stem, suffixation of Al.

$_1$xá? [$_2$stótil-al] $_3$ti$_4$bálumil$_5$e. '$_1$It is that: [$_2$he is the head one over] $_3$the $_4$land $_5$(remote) (i. e., He is the one in charge of all the land).'
$_1$xá? [$_2$tótil] $_3$yú?unik. '$_1$It is that: [$_2$he is the chief one] $_3$of them (i. e., He is their leader).'
$_1$[lékil]-?ánts $_2$lúm$_3$e. '(That one) $_2$there $_3$(remote) $_1$is a [good] woman.'
$_1$mi$_2$ti[$_3$lékil-al] $_4$lák $_5$yál. '$_1$If $_2$with [$_3$goodness]$_{4,5}$he said it (i. e., Was it of his own free will he said it)?'

5.3. Obligatorily Possessed Nouns. An OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED NOUN must always occur with a pronoun as possessor. It may be simple or composite.

$_1$lák $_2$smĩl $_3$ti[$_4$sbánkil$_5$e]. '$_{1,2}$He killed $_3$(the) [$_4$his brother $_5$(remote)].' (SM021)
$_1$xá? [$_2$smóton] $_3$ti$_4$kampána$_5$e. '$_1$It is that: $_3$the $_4$bell's $_5$(remote) [$_2$gift].' (FB018)
$_1$?át'š$_2$to $_3$ti[$_4$at'šúk-t'šut$_5$e]. '$_3$(The) [$_4$your tie-abdomen (i. e. girdle) $_5$(remote)] $_1$is new $_2$still.'
$_1$ip'ák [$_2$spĩš-xol]. '[$_2$His wrap-head (i. e. hat)] $_1$dropped.' (PP096)

An UNPOSSESSABLE NOUN may be derived from an Obligatorily Possessed Noun by suffixation of Il.

$_1$lák $_2$yák' $_3$nákluk $_4$ti[$_5$bánkil-al]$_6$e. '$_{1,2}$He let $_3$be seated $_4$the [$_5$eldest brother] $_6$(remote).'
$_1$itšám$_2$ša $_3$ti [$_4$xbánkil]$_5$e. '$_3$(The) [$_4$my brother] $_5$(remote) $_1$died $_2$already.' (SM045)

$_1$tšák' $_2$ti[$_3$móton-il] $_4$ták'in. '$_1$He gives $_2$as [$_3$a gift] $_4$his money (i.e., He gives away his money).'
$_1$tšbá $_2$yák'beik [$_3$smóton]. '$_1$will go $_2$they give him [$_3$his gift] (i.e., They are going to go and give him a gift).' (VA021)
$_1$t'úxum $_2$ti[$_3$ná]$_4$e. '$_2$The [$_3$house] $_4$(remote) $_1$is pretty.' (NM328)
$_1$itál $_2$ti[$_3$sná]. '$_1$He came $_2$to [$_3$his house] (i.e., He came home).' (SM030)
$_1$tspás [$_2$náil]-ʔíšim. '$_1$He is making $_2$a corn-[house].'
$_1$tstšík'ik [$_2$póm]. '$_1$They are burning [$_2$incense].'
$_1$mi$_2$avít'šox $_3$tál [$_4$apóm]. '$_1$If $_2$you have brought $_3$coming [$_4$your incense] (i.e., Have you brought the incense you are going to use)?'
$_1$bá $_2$slóʔik $_3$ti[$_4$spómal] $_5$ti$_6$kólomen$_7$e. '$_1$Went $_2$they eat $_3$(the) [$_4$its incense] $_5$the $_6$bees $_7$(remote) (i.e., They went and ate the bees' honey).' (SM023)

5.4. Classification of Nouns by Distribution. Several subsets of nouns may be defined on the basis of their distribution in phrases and clauses. Of these, those subsets of possessed nouns which define possessed noun phrases with special distribution are discussed below in 5.7-5.12. In addition, two subsets of nouns are here defined, REFLEXIVE and VOCATIVE nouns.

A REFLEXIVE NOUN is an obligatorily possessed noun based on the stem bá. It occupies a position in the nucleus of the Verb Phrase (2.7).

$_1$k'únk'un $_2$lík $_3$xtám [$_4$xbá]. '$_1$It is slowly $_3$began $_3$I pick up [$_4$myself] (i.e., I slowly gained strength).' (OD112)
$_1$tsk'ópon [$_2$sbáik]. '$_1$They talk to [$_2$themselves] (i.e., They talk to each other).' (VA017)

A VOCATIVE NOUN is one which may occupy the Vocative Position of a clause. It may be unpossessable, optionally possessed, or obligatorily possessed.

$_1$xáyibošuk $_2$natálik [$_3$mêʔ$_4$e] [$_5$tót$_6$e] $_7$lâʔik $_8$ʔók'om. '(The) $_1$how many of you $_2$you came [$_3$mother $_4$(remote)], [$_5$father $_6$(remote)] $_7$come $_8$tomorrow (i.e., The number of you that came, mothers, fathers, come tomorrow).' (X1.201)
$_1$ʔáltik $_2$anáʔun$_3$tál [$_4$kérem]. '$_1$It is in vain (that) $_2$you remembered me $_3$coming [$_4$boy] (i.e., It's in vain you thought of coming to me, boy).' (AB127)
$_1$ʔótšan $_2$tál [$_3$xbánkil]. '$_1$Enter $_2$coming, [$_3$my elder brother].' (AB198)

5.5-5.6 Noun Phrase Structure

5.5. Descriptive Noun Phrases. A DESCRIPTIVE NOUN PHRASE consists of two coordinate constituents; an APPELLATIVE constituent, and a DESCRIPTIVE constituent. They are considered coordinate (and appositive)

rather than attributive (i. e. a head with modifiers) because either constituent may occur independent of the other, and both have the same semantic referent. Though the relative order of the constituents is fixed, either of the two, or both, may occur in a nominal position.

Appellative alone:

$_1$mû $_2$stóx [$_3$svĩnik]. '$_1$It is not $_2$he pays [$_3$his men] (i. e., He doesn't pay his men).' (OD050)
$_1$lâx $_2$stsóbik [$_3$tâk'in]. '$_{1,2}$ They collected [$_3$money].' (FB012)

Descriptive alone:

$_1$mû $_2$sk'án $_3$šâk' $_4$ti$_5$mól $_6$xmĩkel$_7$e [$_8$té $_9$ti$_{10}$yólon $_{11}$témplo$_{12}$e]. '$_1$It is not $_2$he wants $_3$he gives it $_4$(the) $_5$Old $_8$Mike $_7$(remote) [$_8$it is there $_{8,10}$below (the) $_{11}$church $_{12}$(remote)] (i. e., Old Mike doesn't want to give (the piece of land) there below the church).' (NM582)
$_1$xâ? $_2$tst'ûxik [$_3$ti$_4$bû $_5$mól$_8$ša$_7$e]. '$_1$It is that: $_2$they choose [$_3$(the) $_4$where $_5$he is old $_8$already $_7$(remote)] (i. e., It's that they choose one who is old).' (SD024)

Appellative plus Descriptive:

$_1$kó ?ol $_2$tšâk [$_3$?ántsetik $_4$ti$_5$lĩ?oyik$_6$e]. '$_1$She is the same $_2$as [$_3$women $_4$that $_5$(they) are here $_6$(remote)].' (X1.016)
$_1$tšâk' $_2$kastĩko [$_3$ti$_4$diós $_5$lĩ?$_6$to]. '[$_3$The $_4$god $_5$here $_6$still] $_1$gives $_2$punishment (i. e., This god punishes).' (FB026)

The appellative may be a NOUN or a POSSESSED NOUN PHRASE.

$_1$ip'áx [$_2$ti$_3$té? $_4$e]. '[$_2$The $_3$tree $_4$(remote)] $_1$fell.' (SM029)
$_1$lâx $_2$spásik [$_3$k'ĩn]. '$_{1,2}$They made [$_3$a fiesta].' (FB012)
$_1$tâl $_2$stĩk' [$_3$sk'ób $_4$ti$_5$bólom$_6$e]. '$_1$Came $_2$he put it in [$_3$his paw $_4$the $_5$tiger $_6$(remote)] (i. e., The tiger came and stuck his paw in).' (NT006)
$_1$tškák'be [$_2$xkantélatik]. '$_1$We give to it [$_2$our candles].' (PP263)

The descriptive may be a CLAUSE or a ti-PHRASE. The Clause may or may not be determined.

$_1$lĩk $_2$sméltsan $_3$ti$_4$bâ$_5$e [$_6$xá? $_7$ti$_8$tšvé? $_9$ti$_{10}$vût $_{11}$lûm]. '$_1$Began $_2$he made it $_3$the $_4$mole $_5$(remote) [$_6$it is that $_7$that $_8$eats $_{9,10}$inside (the) $_{11}$ground] (i. e., He then made the mole, it that eats inside the ground).' (SM027)

$_1$sâ?bun $_2$tálel $_3$k'éxox [$_4$ti$_5$kastɬya] [$_6$ti$_7$bû $_8$lék$_9$e]. '$_1$Look for me $_2$coming $_3$a song [$_4$in $_5$Spanish] [$_6$(the) $_7$where $_8$it is good $_9$(remote)] (i. e., Bring me a song in Spanish that is good).' (NM622)

An appellative noun is in cross-reference with the following descriptive clause as one of its nominal referents. Two examples follow in which the noun is (first) the agent and (second) the goal of the descriptive clause.

$_1$nɬtšim$_2$no?oš $_3$kó?ntontutik $_4$xkótoltutik $_5$stšɬ?uk [$_6$ti$_7$mariána $_8$ti$_9$tálem $_{10}$lɬ? $_{11}$to]. '$_1$A flower $_2$precisely $_3$our (ex) hearts $_4$all of us (ex) $_5$along with [$_6$(the) $_7$Marion $_8$who $_9$has come $_{10}$here $_{11}$still] (i. e., We (ex.) are all happy including Marion who has come here).' (MS050)

$_1$láx$_2$ša $_3$kɬt'š [$_4$ti$_5$akárta$_6$e $_7$ti$_8$láx $_9$aták $_{10}$talél $_{11}$ti$_{12}$kuátro $_{13}$noviémbre]. '$_{1,3}$I received $_2$now [$_4$(the) $_5$your letter $_6$(remote) $_7$that $_{8,9}$you sent $_{10}$coming $_{11}$on (the) $_{12}$4th (of) $_{13}$November].' (NM538)

The DESCRIPTIVE NOUN PHRASE may occupy a nominal position of a clause and may (or may not) be determined.

Subject: [$_1$ti$_2$ták'in $_3$tixtsóbtutik] $_4$xâ? $_5$ti$_6$spasáxe $_7$ti$_8$mût'šu $_9$tštál$_{10}$e. '[$_1$The $_2$money $_3$we will gather] $_4$it is that: $_5$the $_6$fare of $_7$the $_8$one $_9$who will come $_{10}$(remote).' (NM162)

Subject: $_1$itšám [$_2$ti$_3$vákaš $_4$ti$_5$láx $_6$smán $_7$vólxe]. '[$_2$The $_3$cow $_4$that $_{5,6}$he bought $_7$yesterday] $_1$died.'

Object: $_1$mi$_2$ik'ót [$_3$ti$_4$kárta$_5$e $_6$ti$_7$lá $_8$xták $_9$tálel$_{10}$e]. '$_1$If $_2$it arrived [$_3$the $_4$letter $_5$(remote) $_6$that $_{7,8}$I sent $_8$coming $_{10}$(remote)] (i. e., Did the letter that I sent arrive)?' (NM472)

Object: $_1$láx $_2$kɬt'š $_3$tál [$_4$ti$_5$xûn $_6$ti$_7$láx $_8$ak'ámbun$_9$e]. '$_{1,2}$I brought $_3$coming [$_4$the $_5$paper $_8$that $_{7,8}$you asked me for $_9$(remote)].'

5.6. Possessed Noun Phrases. A POSSESSED NOUN PHRASE consists of an ITEM followed by a POSSESSOR. The Item may be a POSSESSED or an UNPOSSESSED NOUN.

When the Item is a Possessed Noun, the Possessor may be a Noun, a Noun Phrase, or a Clause. A Clause in this position may (or may not) be determined.

$_1$pó?ot$_2$ša $_3$tš?án [$_4$yól $_5$xtšɬtom]. '$_1$It is soon $_2$already $_3$will be born [$_4$her offspring $_5$my pig] (i. e., My pig will soon have her litter).' (NM616)

$_1$tšaxk'ámbot $_2$vókol $_3$stšɬ?uk [$_4$skótol $_5$ti$_6$xvɬniktak$_7$e $_8$ti$_9$k'û $_{10}$yépal $_{11}$xkóx$_{12}$e]. '$_1$I ask of you $_2$trouble $_3$along with [$_4$all $_5$(the) $_6$my men $_7$(remote) $_8$(the) $_9$what is $_{10}$their muchness (on) $_{11}$my account $_{12}$(remote)] (i. e., I ask help of you along with all my men, the number of them that are at my command).' (CL015)

$_1$mû $_2$xêtšuk [$_3$sxâm $_4$ti$_5$lâ $_6$xt'sîbabot$_7$e]. '$_1$It is not $_2$be it thus [$_3$its meaning $_4$the $_{5,6}$I wrote to you $_7$(remote)] (i.e., That was not the meaning of what I wrote to you).' (NM164)

The provision that the Possessor may itself be a Possessed Noun Phrase theoretically allows for infinite recursion. In practice, no more than one or two embeddings of Possessed Noun Phrases as Possessor is common.

$_1$t'ûxum $_2$srônil [$_3$sk'û? $_4$ti$_5$šlêl$_6$e]. '(The) $_2$embroidery (on) [$_4$(the) $_5$Manuela's $_6$(remote) $_3$blouse] $_1$is pretty.'

$_1$sk'ân $_2$smêltsambel [$_3$smâkte? $_4$ti$_5$pâle$_6$e]. '$_1$He wants $_2$its being made for him [$_3$his fence $_4$the $_5$priest $_6$(remote)] (i.e., The priest wants a fence made for him).' (PP440)

When the Item is an Unpossessed Noun, the Possessor is either an ASSOCIATIVE NOUN or an ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASE. The Associative Noun is a Possessed Noun based on û?un, and an Associative Noun Phrase is a subset of Possessed Noun Phrases having an Associative Noun as Item.

$_1$ti$_2$?iskuêla [$_3$kû?untutik] $_4$lî?$_5$to $_6$ti$_7$?îspitor [$_8$avû?un]$_8$e $_{10}$lêk $_{11}$snâ? $_{12}$tšâlbe $_{13}$mântal $_{14}$ti$_{15}$mâystro [$_{16}$avû?un]$_{17}$e. '$_1$At [$_3$our] $_2$school $_4$here $_5$still $_6$(the) [$_8$your] $_7$inspector $_9$(remote) $_{10}$well $_{11}$knows how $_{12}$he says to him $_{13}$commands $_{14}$(the) [$_{16}$your] $_{15}$teacher $_{17}$(remote) (i.e., Your inspector really knows how to command your teacher at our school here).' (CL052)

$_1$lâ $_2$xtšôn $_3$ti$_4$lîmeton [$_5$yû?un $_6$ti$_7$pôš$_8$e]. '$_{1,2}$I sold $_3$the $_4$large decanters [$_5$of $_6$the $_7$liquor $_8$(remote)] (i.e., I sold the large liquor bottles).' (F2.167)

The Possessor agrees in person with the pronoun prefix of a Possessed Noun occupying the Item position. Since the Possessor is a Noun, a Noun Phrase, or a Clause, the pronoun prefix of the noun in the Item position is almost always the third person pronoun. The two exceptions to this are when the Possessor is either a TOTALITY PHRASE (5.8) or an ATTENTION CLAUSE (3.3). It is the POSSESSOR of a Totality Phrase, or the SUBJECT of an Attention Clause which is in cross-reference with the pronoun in the Item position rather than the phrase or clause as a whole.

$_1$xâ? [$_2$xtâk'in $_3$xtûk]. '$_1$It is that: [$_2$it's my money $_3$my aloneness] (i.e., It is my money alone).'

$_1$tixk'ântutik $_2$vôkol $_3$ti [$_4$atôxol $_5$xô?ot] $_6$ti $_7$?ôy $_8$avâbtel$_8$e. '$_1$We are asking $_2$trouble $_3$in [$_4$your presence $_5$it is you:] $_6$(the) $_7$there is $_8$your official position $_9$(remote) (i.e., We are asking help of you who have an official position).' (CL040)

5.7-5.12 Subsets of Possessed Noun Phrases

Two subsets of possessed noun phrases have already been introduced, ASSOCIATIVE and TOTALITY phrases. In addition to these, ACCOMPANIMENT, CAUSATIVE, LOCATIVE and TEMPORAL noun phrases are discussed below.

5.7. Associative Noun Phrases. The ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASE is based on the obligatorily possessed stem ú?un, and must be present in the possessor position with an unpossessed noun, as mentioned above. It may also occupy three other positions.

In a passive clause, the goal of the predicator is the subject of the clause, and the agent of the predicator is out of focus, but the agent may be introduced obliquely by an Associative Noun Phrase.

$_1$mú $_2$lékuk $_3$i?ɬat [$_4$yú?un $_5$ti$_6$sbánkil$_7$e]. '$_1$It is not $_2$it be good $_3$he was seen [$_4$by $_5$(the) $_6$his elder brother $_7$(remote)] (i.e., He was not liked by his elder brother).' (AJ005)

$_1$mi$_2$itšápax [$_3$avú?unik]. '$_1$If $_2$it was arranged [$_3$by you] (i.e., Was it settled by you)?'

$_1$k'úšubbil [$_2$yú?un $_3$ti$_4$stót$_5$e]. '$_1$He was loved [$_2$by $_3$(the) $_4$his father $_5$(remote)].' (AJ002)

The Associative noun phrase may occupy the Purpose Position of a clause.

$_1$mú $_2$šú? $_3$tšaxk'óponot $_4$?ép [$_5$yú?un $_6$štál$_7$ša $_8$ti$_9$múť'šu $_{10}$tšíť'š $_{11}$bátel $_{12}$ti $_{13}$kárta$_{14}$e]. '$_1$It is not $_2$it is able $_3$I will talk to you $_4$much [$_5$because $_6$he is coming $_7$now $_8$the $_9$one who $_{10}$will take $_{11}$going $_{12}$the $_{13}$letter $_{14}$(remote)] (i.e., I am not able to tell you much because the one who is going to take the letter is now coming).' (NM189)

$_1$k'úšik $_2$ti$_3$sbá $_4$xk'ób$_5$e [$_6$yú?un $_7$?ép $_8$lá $_9$xót'silan]. '$_1$They hurt $_2$the $_3$tops of $_4$my hands $_5$(remote) [$_6$because $_7$much $_{8,9}$I scratched them] (i.e., The backs of my hands hurt because I scratched them a lot).' (NL028)

A Question Clause based on k'ú 'what' may have an Associative Noun Phrase as Subject directing the question to the cause of an event. In this construction ú?un receives phrase stress on its final syllable. The grammatical significance of this, if any, is not clear.

$_1$k'ú [$_2$yù?ún $_3$mú$_4$me $_5$skák']. '$_1$What is [$_2$its cause $_3$it is not $_4$(emphatic) $_5$I give it] (i.e., Why must I not give it)?' (AB199)

$_1$k'û [$_2$yù?ûn $_3$tstšón]. '$_1$What is [$_2$its cause $_3$he will sell it] (i.e., Why is he selling it)?'

The Associative Noun yû?un may also occupy the Conditional Position of a Manner Clause based on xêtš 'thus' (3.4). In this case, only the noun occurs without a possessor constituent following. As in the case mentioned immediately above, û?un receives phrase stress on its final syllable when occupying this position. In this case, however, the occurrence of phrase stress may have grammatical significance, since it is not what follows that is in grammatical construction with it. Following xêtš, yû?un has reference to a preceding form, and is comparable to English 'therefore'.

$_1$pûro $_2$sâk?obal $_3$tšá?yik. [$_4$xêtš $_5$yù?ûn] $_6$lâx $_7$kît'š $_8$mûl. '$_1$Simply $_2$white-cough $_3$they feel. [$_5$Because of this, $_4$it is thus (that)] $_{6,7}$I received $_8$fault (i.e., It is simply tuberculosis they are suffering from. Therefore I was sad).' (NM425)

$_1$mûk $_2$š?âk'bat [$_3$xêtš $_4$yù?ûn] $_5$i?ílin. '$_1$It be not $_2$he was given it [$_4$because of this $_3$it is thus (that)] $_5$he became angry) (i.e., He was not given it so he became angry).' (SM026)

5.8. Totality Noun Phrases. A TOTALITY NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset of Possessed Noun Phrases based on two obligatorily possessed noun stems, kótol 'all' and tûk 'alone'. Unlike other possessed nouns whose pronoun agrees with a following Possessor, the possessor of a totality noun agrees in person and number with the possessed noun in the item position of the Phrase.

$_1$nîtšim $_2$no?oš $_3$kó?ntontutik [$_4$xkótoltutik]. '$_2$Simply $_1$are a flower $_3$our (ex) hearts (of) [$_4$all (of us (ex.))] (i.e., We (ex) are all happy).' (MS050)

$_1$mû $_2$ti $_3$svêntauk [$_4$stûkik]. '$_1$It's not $_2$by $_3$their good cause [$_4$they alone] (i.e., It's not on their account alone).' (X1.098)

5.9. Accompaniment Noun Phrases. An ACCOMPANIMENT NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset based on the obligatorily possessed noun stem tšî?uk. In certain cases, the Accompaniment Noun Phrase could be interpreted as occupying an association position of a clause. An example of such a clause is lêkto ?óyun xó?oni stšî?uk kâxnil stšî?uk xnît'šnab 'I am still fine, I along with my wife and my children,' (NM438) where the subject of the clause is xó?oni, and the verb is unmarked for plural which would seem to indicate that stšî?uk kâxnil stšî?uk xnît'šnab is an association constituent and not part of the subject.

Such an interpretation is not sure, however, since it is not absolutely necessary to mark the verb for a plural subject when the subject is known to be plural. In other cases, the accompaniment noun phrase is obviously an

appositive to another noun phrase both of which occupy together a nominal position of their clause. Examples of this are:

$_1$?ép $_2$ti$_3$tšámel $_4$tšká?itutik [$_5$stš'?uk $_6$kól $_7$xnt'šon]. '(It's) $_1$much $_2$the $_3$sickness $_4$we (excl) feel [$_5$along with $_6$, $_7$our children].' (NM503)
$_1$tšakálbot $_2$ti$_3$lék $_4$nik'ótutik $_5$ti$_6$méxiko [$_7$stš'?uk $_8$ti$_9$xmártin$_{10}$e]. '$_1$I will tell you $_2$that $_3$fine $_4$we (excl) arrived $_5$in $_6$Mexico City [$_7$along with$_8$ (the) $_9$Martin $_{10}$(remote)] (i.e., I will tell you that Martin and I arrived O.K. in Mexico City).' (NL112)

Since the accompaniment noun phrase is often clearly in this kind of apposition and can in the previously mentioned cases also be so interpreted, it seems best to consider it to function as an appositive in all cases.

5.10. Causative Noun Phrases. A CAUSATIVE NOUN PHRASE is one based on one of two causative nouns, kóx and vénta. They differ in their connotation; kóx implying that the cause is evil, and vénta that it is good. vénta comes from Spanish cuénta. A Causative noun phrase occupies the purpose-cause position of a clause. It differs from the Associative noun phrase in this position in that the latter is connotatively neutral (5.7).

$_1$?úts $_2$sbáik [$_3$skóx $_4$ti$_5$mú $_6$st'šún $_7$ti$_8$amántal$_9$e]. '$_1$Poor $_2$them [$_3$its bad cause is $_4$(the) $_5$not $_6$they obey $_7$(the) $_6$your commands $_9$(remote)] (i.e., They are in a bad way because they don't obey your commands).' (MP066)
$_1$nip'íxub [$_2$ti$_3$svénta $_4$ti$_5$máystro$_6$e]. '$_1$I became wise [$_2$(the) $_3$its good cause $_4$the $_5$teacher $_6$(remote)] (i.e., I got educated on account of the teacher).'

A vénta phrase may also occur as subject of a Question clause based on k'úsi 'what', but in this position vénta requires the impersonal suffix Al (10.8).

$_1$k'úsi [$_2$svéntail $_3$ti$_4$natál$_5$e]. '$_1$What is [$_2$its good cause $_3$that $_4$you came $_5$(remote)] (i.e., For what good purpose did you come)?'

5.11. Locative Noun Phrases. A LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset based on locative nouns of which there are eight:

yút 'its insideness (i.e. inside)'
sbá 'its firstness (i.e. on top, at the beginning)'
yólon 'its belowness (i.e. below)'
sxól 'its head (i.e. at the top)'

yók 'its foot (i. e. at the foot)'
spát 'its back (i. e. at the back, outside)'
šókon 'its side (i. e. beside)'
stóxol 'its straightness (i. e. in front, before)'

A Locative Noun Phrase occupies the axis of a Locative Phrase based on the relator ti.

$_{1}$tšvé? [$_{2}$ti$_{3}$yût $_{4}$lûm]. '$_{1}$It eats [$_{2,3}$inside $_{4}$(the) ground].' (SM027)
$_{1}$lâ $_{2}$xt'sîba $_{3}$té [$_{4}$ti$_{5}$sbá]. '$_{1,2}$I wrote it $_{3}$it is there [$_{4,5}$at the beginning of it].' (NM010)
$_{1}$té $_{2}$tšaxmálaot [$_{3}$ti$_{4}$yólon $_{5}$vîts]. '$_{1}$It is there $_{3}$we will wait for you [$_{3,4}$below $_{5}$(the) hill].' (F2. 139)
$_{1}$?óy $_{2}$t'šáyil $_{3}$tšlók' [$_{4}$ti$_{5}$sxól $_{6}$ti$_{7}$vîts$_{8}$e]. '$_{1}$There is $_{2}$smoke $_{3}$(it is) coming out [$_{4,5}$at the top of $_{6}$(the) $_{7}$mountain $_{8}$(remote)].'
$_{1}$té $_{2}$nákal [$_{3}$ti$_{4}$yók $_{5}$vîts]. '$_{1}$It is there $_{2}$he lives [$_{3,4}$at the foot of $_{5}$a mountain].'
$_{1}$té $_{2}$tšmálavan [$_{3}$ti$_{4}$spát $_{5}$aná]. '$_{1}$It is there $_{2}$he is waiting [$_{3,4}$outside $_{5}$your house].'
$_{1}$té $_{2}$stsóbox $_{3}$sbáik [$_{4}$ti$_{5}$šókon $_{6}$t'šûlna$_{7}$i]. '$_{1}$It is there $_{2}$they have gathered $_{3}$themselves [$_{4,5}$beside $_{6}$(the) church $_{7}$(immediate)].'
$_{1}$tixkéxan $_{2}$xbátik [$_{3}$ti$_{4}$stóxol $_{5}$ti$_{6}$krûs$_{7}$e $_{8}$ti $_{9}$vîts$_{10}$e]. '$_{1}$We make kneel $_{2}$ourselves [$_{3,4}$before $_{5}$the $_{6}$cross $_{7}$(remote) $_{8}$the $_{9}$mountain $_{10}$(remote)] (i. e., We kneel before the cross and the mountain).' (F2. 037)

5. 12. Temporal Noun Phrases. A TEMPORAL NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset based on impersonal nouns derived from Temporal Stative stems or Numerals. In the case of the nominalized numeral, its Possessor is a temporal noun. The Temporal Noun Phrase may occupy the Time position of a clause.

$_{1}$xétš $_{2}$yù?ûn [$_{3}$sxûnul $_{4}$k'ák'al] $_{5}$mu $_{6}$šk'ópox. '$_{2}$Because of this, $_{1}$it is thus (that) [$_{3}$its oneness $_{4}$a day] $_{5}$it is not $_{6}$he talks (i. e., Therefore he doesn't talk all day long).' (NM241)
$_{1}$k'álal $_{2}$mi$_{3}$méltsaxem$_{4}$e [$_{5}$ stšîbal$_{6}$to $_{7}$k'ák'al] $_{8}$tšbât. '(It's) $_{1}$when $_{2}$if $_{3}$it is made $_{4}$(remote), [$_{5}$its secondness $_{6}$still $_{7}$a day] $_{8}$they go (i. e., When it has been made, it's still the second day that they go).' (SD010)

There is a subset of Temporal Noun Phrases which always occupies the axis of a Temporal relator phrase based on ti. Members of this subset are based on either nominalized numerals or nominalized stative stems.

$_{1}$ital $_{2}$ti[$_{3}$yók'omal]. '$_{1}$He came $_{2}$on (the) [$_{3}$morrow].'
$_{1}$ik'ót $_{2}$ti$_{3}$pásel $_{4}$ti[$_{5}$svólxeal]. '$_{1}$It arrived $_{2}$by $_{3}$being done $_{4}$on [$_{5}$its yesterday] (i. e., It happened the day before).'

$_{1}$ilâx $_{2}$ti$_{3}$mîlel $_{4}$ti[$_{5}$stšá?exal] $_{6}$ti$_{7}$méro $_{8}$sk'ák'alil $_{9}$ti$_{10}$k'ín$_{11}$e. '$_{1}$He was finished $_{2}$by $_{3}$killing $_{4}$on [$_{5}$its two-future-days] $_{6}$the $_{7}$true $_{8}$day of $_{9}$the $_{10}$fiesta $_{11}$(remote) (i. e., He was killed two days after the main day of the fiesta).'

5.13. Possessed Nouns as Predicators.

A Possessed Noun Phrase occasionally may occur as an independent sentence or as subject of a negation clause, with its Item constituent interpreted as a predicator. Witness the following examples where the possessed noun may be modified by a modal or inflected for subjunctive mode like a verb.

[$_{1}$yû?un] $_{2}$kûšul. '[(It's) $_{1}$because] $_{2}$it is alive.' (X1.138)

[$_{1}$yû?un$_{2}$van] $_{3}$tšiyâkub $_{4}$xêtš $_{5}$yù?ûn $_{6}$ixât. '[$_{2}$Probably (it's) $_{1}$because] $_{3}$I am drunk, $_{5}$because of this, $_{4}$it is thus (that) $_{6}$it tore (i. e., It's probably because I'm drunk that it tore).' (NM320)

$_{1}$mû [$_{2}$yû?unuk] $_{3}$plêito $_{4}$tixpástik $_{5}$stšî?uk. '$_{1}$It is not [$_{2}$it be because] $_{3}$fighting $_{4}$we are doing $_{5}$with them (i. e., It is not that we are fighting with them).' (F2.194)

$_{1}$xâ? [$_{2}$stšî?uk] $_{3}$ti$_{4}$xûras$_{5}$e. '$_{1}$It is that: [$_{2}$they are with him] $_{3}$(the) $_{4}$Judas $_{5}$(remote) (i. e., It is they along with Judas).' (X2.140)

$_{1}$tê [$_{2}$xtšî?uktik]$_{3}$?o$_{4}$no?oš $_{5}$pêro $_{6}$mûk $_{7}$škîltik $_{8}$bû $_{9}$ibât. '$_{1}$It is there [$_{3}$we were with him] $_{3}$(conclusive) $_{4}$precisely $_{5}$but $_{6}$it be not $_{7}$we saw $_{8}$where $_{9}$he went (i. e., We were right there with him but we didn't see where he went).'

[$_{1}$spât] $_{2}$ti$_{3}$bû$_{4}$ lâx $_{5}$yît'š$_{6}$e. '[(It's) $_{1}$his back] $_{2}$(the) $_{3}$where$_{4}$, $_{5}$he received it $_{6}$(remote) (i. e., It's his back where he got hurt).'

[$_{1}$skóx] $_{2}$ti$_{3}$mû $_{4}$šâ?i $_{5}$ti$_{6}$ak'óp$_{7}$e. '[$_{1}$Its bad cause is] $_{2}$that $_{3}$it is not $_{4}$he hears $_{5}$(the) $_{6}$your words $_{7}$(remote) (i. e., It's because he doesn't hear you).' (MP067)

NOMINAL INFLECTION

There are four sets of inflectional forms which are nominal:

1. Pronouns
2. Plural
3. The Determiner ti
4. Deictic endings

6.1. Pronouns. There are four persons in Huixtec–first, second, inclusive, and third–and a morpheme for each–FIRST, SECOND, INCL, and THIRD. These morphemes indicate the agent, goal, or referent of a verb, or the possessor of a noun.

As indicated above (2.2), there are three pronoun positions in the verb phrase. These positions are defined to account for differences of (1) pronominal reference, and (2) morphophonemic realization. The pronominal position which precedes the noun stem of a possessed noun is equivalent to position two (PN^2) of the verb phrase nucleus in respect to the morphophonemic realizations of pronouns. In the following paragraphs, the distribution of pronouns in respect to their grammatical reference is discussed first, followed by a description of their morphophonemic realizations.

A pronoun occupies Position One (PN^1) of the verb phrase nucleus of an indicative, nonperfective verb if it is (1) the agent of an intransitive verb, (2) the goal of a nonreflexive transitive verb, or (3) the referent of a referential verb.

COMPL-[FIRST]-xóyp'ix '[I] turned around,' n-[i]-xóyp'ix, nixóyp'ix,
INCOMPL-[FIRST]-THIRD-kólta-FIRST 'he helps [me],' tš-[i]-y-kólta-un, tšiskóltaun.
INCOMPL-[FIRST]-THIRD-póx-REF-FIRST 'he is taking it away from [me],' tš-[i]-y-póx-be-un, tšispóxbøun, tšispóxbun.

A pronoun occupies Position Two (PN^2) of the verb phrase nucleus if it is the Agent of an Active Transitive or Active Referential Verb. A pronoun occupies Position Two of the possessed noun if it is the possessor of the noun. If a transitive verb is reflexive, position two is occupied twice–preceding the verb stem and the reflexive noun.

INCOMPL-THIRD-[FIRST]-?áventa-THIRD '[I] will resow it,' tš-ø-(k)-?áventa-ø, tškøáventa, tškáventa.

INCOMPL-SECOND-[FIRST]-ʔál-REF-SECOND '[I] will tell it to you,' tš-a-[k]-ʔál-be-ot, tšakØálbØot, tšakálbot.
[FIRST]-ʔɪl '[my] debt,' [k]-ʔɪl, kØɪl, kɪl.
INCOMPL-[THIRD]-kólta-[THIRD]-bá-PL '[they] are helping each other,' tš-[y]-kólta-[y]-bá-Uk, tØskóltasbáik, tskólta sbáik.

A pronoun occupies Position Three (PN^3) of the verb phrase nucleus of an indicative, nonperfective verb if it is the goal of an active nonreflexive transitive verb, or the referent of an active referential verb. In these cases the person of goal or referent is marked redundantly in both PN^1 and PN^3.

COMPL-FIRST-THIRD-ʔɪl-[FIRST] 'he saw [me],' n-i-y-ʔɪl-[un], niyØɪlun, niyɪlun.
INCOMPL-SECOND-THIRD-ʔák'-REF-[SECOND] 'he will give it to [you],' tš-a-y-ʔák'-be-[ot], tšayØák'bØot, tšayák'bot.

If the verb is subjunctive, imperative, or perfective, a pronoun occupies Position Three as the agent of an active intransitive verb, goal of a transitive or stative intransitive verb, or the referent of a referential verb.

yál-IMPV-[SECOND] 'get down [(you sg.)]!' yál-o-[an], yálØan, yálan.
tál-PERF-[SECOND] '[you] have come,' tál-em-[ot], tálemot.
COMPL-tál-THIRD-ʔɪk'-SUBJN-[FIRST] 'He came and called [me],' Ø-tál-y-ʔɪk'-Ø-[un], tályØɪk'un, tál yɪk'un.
kólta-IMPV-[FIRST] 'help [me]!' kólta-o-[un], kóltaØun, kóltaun.
THIRD-máx-PERF-[SECOND] 'he has hit [you],' y-máx-ox-[ot], smáxoxot.
nák-PERF-PASS-[FIRST] '[I] am seated,' nák-Ø-Rl-[un], nákalun.
nát-PERF-PASS-[FIRST] '[I] am tall,' nát-Ø-Ø-[un], nátun.
vɪnik-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-[FIRST] '[I] were a man,' vɪnik-Ø-Ø-uk-[un], vɪnikukun.
pás-REF-IMPV-[FIRST] 'do it for [me],' pás-be-o-[un], pásbØØun, pásbun.
THIRD-mán-PERF-REF-[SECOND] 'he has bought it for [you],' s-mán-ox-be-[ot], smánoxbØot, smánoxbot.

With two exceptions, the morphophonemic realization of the four pronouns in each of the three pronoun positions is as indicated in the following Table.

	PN^1	PN^2	PN^3
FIRST:	i	k	un
SECOND:	a	av	ot
INCL:	ix	k	Ø
THIRD:	Ø	y	Ø

The exceptions are in respect to SECOND, which (1) if occupying PN^2 of an imperative verb is realized as the null element, and (2) if occupying PN^1 of an intransitive verb which is imperative or subjunctive it is realized as an. Examples follow of each of the pronouns in each of their environments.

INCOMPL-[FIRST]-THIRD-tšûk-[FIRST] 'He is tying me,' tš-[i]-y-tšûk-[un], tšistšûkun.
COMPL-THIRD-[FIRST]-ɬ-THIRD-PL 'we (excl) saw it,', i-Ø-[k]-ɬ-Ø-tutik, ikɬtutik.
yâl-PERF-[FIRST] 'I have descended,' yâl-em-[un], yâlemun.
INCOMPL-[SECOND]-THIRD-lâban-[SECOND] 'they will deride you,' tš-[a]-y-lâban-[ot], tšaslâbanot.
INCOMPL-THIRD-[SECOND]-ʔɬk'-THIRD 'you will take him,' tš-Ø-[av]-ʔɬk'-Ø, tšavØɬk', tšavɬk'.
[SECOND]-mán-REF-IMPV-FIRST 'Buy it for me!' [Ø]-mán-be-o-un, mámbØun, mámbun.
lɬk-IMPV-[SECOND] 'Arise!' lɬk-o-[an], lɬkan.
INCOMPL-[INCL]-THIRD-ʔák'-REF-[INCL]-PL 'he will give it to us (incl),' tš-[ix]-y-ʔák'-be-[Ø]-ukutik, tšixyØák'bØukutik, tšixyák'bukutik.
lâx-THIRD-[INCL]-náʔ-PL-THIRD 'we (incl) remembered,' lâx-Ø-[k]-náʔ-tik-Ø, lâxØnáʔtik, lâx náʔtik.
ʔábtex-PERF-[INCL]-PL 'we (incl) have worked,' ʔábtex-em-[Ø]-ukutik, ʔábtexemukutik.
INCOMPL-bât-[THIRD]-[THIRD]-ʔáʔi-[THIRD] 'he is going to go and hear it,' tš-bâ-[Ø]-[y]-ʔáʔi-[Ø], tšbâyØáʔi, tšbâ yáʔi.
[THIRD]-ʔábtel 'his work,' [y]-ʔábtel, yØábtel, yábtel.
SECOND-k'ópon-IMPV-[THIRD] 'Talk to him,' Ø-k'ópon-o-[Ø], k'ópono.

6.2. Plural. The morpheme PLURAL may modify a noun or a pronoun. Along with possession, the occurrence of PLURAL is a defining characteristic which distinguishes noun stems from stative stems. There are eight morphophonemic realizations of PLURAL; four which indicate plurality of pronouns—tutik, tik, ukutik, Uk,—and four which indicate plurality of nouns—etik, tak, ab, and Vbtak. They may occupy one of two positions in the nucleus of the verb phrase (2.2), or a position immediately following a noun. The distribution of PLURAL is defined as follows.

(1) It may occupy Plural Position Two (PL^2) of a transitive or referential verb to indicate plurality of the agent.

lâx kɬ[tutik]ot 'We (excl) saw you (sg.)'
lâx avɬ[uk]un 'you (pl) saw me'
lá xmâx bâ[tutik] 'we (excl) hit ourselves'

(2) It may occupy Position One (PL^1) of a nonreflexive verb nucleus, to indicate plurality of (a) the agent of an intransitive verb, (b) the goal of a transitive verb, or (c) the referent of a referential verb.

tšixkóm[ukutik] 'we (incl) will stay'
tškóm[ik] 'they will stay'
lâx kʃloš[uk] 'I saw you (pl)
lâx kʃl[ik] 'I saw them'
lâ xpásboš[uk] 'I did it for you (pl)'
lâ xpásbe[ik] 'I did it for them'

(3) It may occupy the plural position following nouns indicating either plurality of the noun or of a possessive pronoun prefix. When a possessive pronoun occurs with a noun, the plural suffix almost invariably has reference to the pronoun. An unpossessed noun, on the other hand, may have a plural suffix indicating plurality of the noun, even though followed by an associative noun (or noun phrase) which indicates the possessor of the noun.

kʃtš[tutik] 'our (excl) chile'
yʃtš[ik] 'their chile'
nâ[etik] kû?un 'my houses'
?ânts[etik] kû?untutik 'our (excl) women'

The distribution of the various morphophonemic realizations of Plural is described below, first for forms which indicate plurality of pronouns, and then for those which indicate plurality of nouns.

In the first place, it should be noted that plurality is not always marked even when the reference is plural. The speaker may fail to mark plurality at his discretion. Apart from this freedom, there are two specific situations where plurality may not be marked.

(1) In a transitive or referential verb neither of whose nominal referents is third person, the agent may not be overtly marked as plural if the other referent is plural.

lâx kʃloš[uk] 'I/we (excl) saw [you (pl)]'
lâx avʃlun[tutik] 'you (sg/pl) saw [us (excl)]'
lâx skûtšbun[tutik] 'He/they carried him for [us (excl)]'
lâx skûtšboš[uk] 'He/they carried him for [you (pl)]'

(2) A third person goal of a transitive verb, or a third person referent of a referential verb may not be overtly marked as plural unless the agent is first person singular.

lâx kʃl[ik] 'I saw them'
lâx kʃltutik 'We saw him/them'
lâx avʃl 'You (sg) saw him/them'
lâx avʃlik 'You (pl) saw him/them'

lɑ́x kɬtik 'We (incl) saw him/them'
lɑ́x yɬ 'He saw him/them'
lɑ́x yɬik 'They saw him/them'

With the above restrictions, PLURAL is realized morphophonemically as follows to indicate plurality of pronouns:
(1) as tutik to indicate plurality of first person;

lɑ́x kɬ[tutik]ot 'We (excl) saw you (sg)'
tixmɬ xbɑ́[tutik] 'We (excl) will kill each other'
lɑ́x yɬun[tutik] 'He/they saw us (excl)'
tšiyɑ́l[tutik] 'We (excl) will descend'
xmé?[tutik] 'our (excl) mother'

(2) as Uk to indicate plurality of second or third person;

lɑ́x avɬ[uk]un 'You (pl) saw me'
lɑ́x avɬ[ik] 'You (pl) saw him/them'
lɑ́x amɑ́x abɑ́[ik] 'You (pl) hit each other'
lɑ́x yɬoš[uk] 'He/they saw you (pl)'
tša?ɑ́tin[ik] 'You (pl) will bathe'
até?[ik] 'your (pl) poles'
lɑ́x yɬ[uk]un 'They saw me'
lɑ́x yɬ[uk]ot 'They saw you (sg)'
lɑ́x yɬ[ik] 'They saw him/them'
tsmɬ sbɑ́[ik] 'They will kill each other'
tš?ɑ́btex[ik] 'They are working'
snɑ́[ik] 'their house'

(3) as tik to indicate plurality of an inclusive person when the agent of a transitive or referential verb or the possessor of a noun;

lɑ́x kɬ[tik] 'We (incl) saw him/them'
tixkɔ́lta xbɑ́[tik] 'We (incl) will help each other'
lɑ́ xpɑ́sbe[tik] 'We (incl) did it for him/them'
xlɑ́m[tik] 'our (incl) land'

(4) and as ukutik to indicate plurality of an inclusive person when agent of an intransitive verb, goal of a transitive verb, or referent of a referential verb.

lɑ́x yɬ[ukutik] 'He/they saw us (incl)'

tšixnáki[ukutik] 'We (incl) will sit down'
lax yák'b[ukutik] 'He/they gave it to us (incl)'

The realization of PLURAL when indicating plurality of a noun classifies nouns into four subsets. The vast majority of nouns are pluralized by etik.

?áxvalil[etik] 'authorities'
vínik[etik] 'men'
xkérem[etik] 'my boys'
atséb[etik] 'your (sg) girls'

The other three subsets are quite small, and are limited to obligatorily possessed nouns.

(1) tak occurs with a small subset of obligatorily possessed nouns, most of which are kinship terms.

xbánkil[tak] 'my older brothers'
xmóso[tak] 'my servants'
tóte[tak] 'Fathers!'

(2) ab only occurs with two kinship terms.

snít'šn[ab] 'his sons'
kít'sin[ab] 'my younger brothers (in one's family)'

(3) Vbtak only occurs with five kinship terms.

xvíš[obtak] 'my older sisters'
smúk[ubtak] 'her younger siblings'
yál[abtak] 'her children'

6.3. Determiner Phrases. A DETERMINER PHRASE consists of the Determiner ti followed by a noun, a noun phrase, a relator phrase based on k'alal or mi, or a clause. A form must be determined by ti if it has been previously mentioned or is clearly understood from the context or situation. In nominal positions, the determiner ti almost always occurs with one of the deictic endings, i (immediate context) or e (remote context).

$_1$xétš $_2$yù ?ún $_3$ti$_4$tšópol [$_5$ti$_6$kristšánoetik$_7$i]. '$_2$Because of this, $_1$it is thus

$_{3}$(that) [$_{5}$the $_{8}$people $_{7}$(immediate)] $_{4}$are evil (i. e., Therefore the people right here are evil).' (PP082)

$_{1}$tšbá $_{2}$xsá? $_{3}$tál [$_{4}$ti$_{5}$xbánkil$_{8}$e]. '$_{1}$Going $_{2}$I look for $_{3}$coming [$_{4}$(the) $_{5}$my elder brother $_{8}$(remote)] (i. e., I'll go and look for my elder brother).' (SM035)

$_{1}$láx $_{2}$yá ?i $_{3}$ti$_{4}$itfx [$_{5}$ti$_{6}$kampána$_{7}$e]. '$_{1,2}$They heard $_{3}$that [$_{5}$the $_{8}$bell $_{7}$(remote)] $_{4}$rang.' (FB002)

The Determiner Phrase may be a contrary-to-fact condition and occupy the conditional position of a clause when the form determined is a subjunctive clause. Any affirmative subjunctive clause may occur with ti in this way, but of negative verbs, only the negative subjunctive verb mántšuk may so occur.

[$_{1}$ti$_{2}$tšápaluk$_{3}$e] $_{4}$tšbá $_{5}$kít'š $_{6}$tálel. '[$_{1}$That $_{2}$it be ready $_{3}$(remote),] $_{4}$going $_{5}$I bring it $_{6}$coming (i. e., If it were ready, I would go and get it).'

[$_{1}$ti$_{2}$láxuk $_{3}$stšón$_{4}$e] $_{5}$xá? $_{6}$más $_{7}$lék. '[$_{1}$That $_{2,3}$he had sold it$_{4}$ (remote),] $_{5}$it is that: $_{6}$most $_{7}$good it is (i. e., If he had sold it, it would have been better).'

[$_{1}$ti$_{2}$mántšuk $_{3}$itšám $_{4}$ti$_{5}$stót $_{6}$ti$_{7}$k'ák'al$_{8}$e] $_{9}$xétš $_{10}$mú $_{11}$šixtšám. '[$_{1}$That $_{2}$it be no matter (that) $_{6}$the $_{7}$sun's $_{8}$(remote) $_{4}$(the) $_{5}$father $_{3}$died] $_{9}$it is thus $_{10}$not $_{11}$we die (i. e., If the sun's father had not died, thus we would not die).' (SM013)

[$_{1}$ti$_{2}$mántšuk $_{3}$ti $_{4}$?óy $_{5}$mút'šu $_{8}$tšiskóltaun] $_{7}$mú $_{8}$šú? $_{9}$tšaxk'óponot $_{10}$?ép. '[$_{1}$That $_{2}$it be no matter $_{3}$that $_{4}$there is $_{5}$who $_{6}$is helping me] $_{7}$it is not $_{8}$it is able $_{9}$I talk to you $_{10}$much (i. e., If it were not that there is someone helping me, I would not be able to write much to you).' (NL091)

6.4. Deictic Endings. There are two DEICTIC ENDINGS, i (immediate context) and e (remote context). They occur finally in both verb and nominal positions. In the case of a noun phrase which occupies a clause position, even if the noun phrase is constituted of several embedded forms which independently might have a deictic ending, these forms may not have such an ending when embedded in another phrase.

e is much more frequent than i, presumably for semantic reasons, since i is limited to immediate context only. In a concordance of 45,914 tokens, e occurred 2,269 times, while i occurred only 84 times. As the final syllable of phrases, deictic endings always occur with phrase stress.

$_{1}$xókol $_{2}$avál $_{3}$ti$_{4}$láx $_{5}$apásbun $_{6}$tálel $_{7}$ti$_{8}$xkárta[$_{9}$é]. '$_{1}$Trouble $_{2}$you say $_{3}$that $_{4,5}$you made for me $_{6}$coming $_{7}$(the) $_{8}$my letter [$_{9}$(remote)] (i. e., Thank you for sending me the letter).' (NM303)

$_{1}$tšaxák'bot $_{2}$xó ?ot[$_{3}$í] $_{4}$k'úsi $_{5}$tšanóp. '$_{1}$I will ask you $_{2}$it is you [$_{3}$(immediate)] $_{4}$what is it $_{5}$you think (i. e., I will ask you what you think).' (NM454)

RELATOR PHRASES

A relator phrase is a relator-axis construction based on one of four relators:

1. ti
2. ?ásta
3. k'álal
4. mi

7.1. ti-Phrases. A ti-PHRASE consists of the relator ti followed by a noun, a noun phrase, or a clause. It is one of three types.

A MANNER ti-PHRASE occupies the Manner Position of a Clause and has a Noun or Noun Phrase of Manner as axis.

$_1$lík $_2$sk'éx $_3$sbá [$_4$ti $_5$?ánil]. '$_1$Began $_2$he set aside $_3$himself [$_4$in $_5$a hurry] (i.e., He got out of the way in a hurry).' (PP011)

[$_1$ti$_2$pék'] $_3$tskútš $_4$bátel. '[(It's) $_1$with $_2$a tumpline] $_3$he will carry it $_4$going.' (SD022)

$_1$pásbil [$_2$ti$_3$sk'ób $_4$kristšáno]. '$_1$It has been made [$_2$by$_4$ people's $_3$hands].' (X2.187)

A LOCATIVE ti-PHRASE occupies the Locative Position of a Clause and has a Locative Noun, or Locative Noun Phrase as axis.

$_1$láx $_2$slápik [$_3$ti$_4$préšu]. '$_{1\ 2}$They enclosed him [$_3$in$_4$ prison] (i.e., They threw him into prison).' (MC011)

$_1$lí? [$_2$ti$_3$vistán]. '$_1$It is here [$_2$in $_3$Huixtán].' (MC011)

$_1$išánav [$_2$lí? $_3$ti$_4$ slók'eb $_5$k'ák'al]. '$_1$He travelled [$_2$here $_3$at $_4$its place of exiting $_5$the sun] (i.e., He travelled here in the east).' (VA052)

A TEMPORAL ti-PHRASE occupies the Time Position of a Clause and has a Temporal Stative Stem, a Temporal Noun Phrase, or a Numeral Clause as axis.

$_1$xá? $_2$láx $_3$spás $_4$ti$_5$xvášakmel$_6$e [$_7$ti$_8$vó ?one]. '$_1$It is that: $_4$(the) $_5$Vashakmel $_6$(remote) $_{2,3}$did it [$_7$in $_8$the past].' (VA002)

$_1$lâx $_2$smîl $_3$sbâik [$_4$ti$_5$svîšperesal $_6$ti$_7$k'în$_8$e]. '$_{1,2}$They killed $_3$each other [$_4$on $_5$the night before $_6$the $_7$fiesta $_8$(remote)].'

$_1$tixk'ópon $_2$xbâtik [$_3$ti$_4$yân $_5$šemâna]. '$_1$We will talk to $_2$each other [$_3$at $_4$another $_5$week] (i.e., We will talk together some other time).' (NM259)

7.2. ?ásta-Phrases. An ?ásta-PHRASE consists of the Relator ?ásta followed by a temporal noun or noun phrase, a ti-Phrase, or a clause as axis. ?ásta is borrowed from Spanish hasta 'until'. In Huixtec, it indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause continues (continued, etc.) up to the point in time indicated in the axis of the ?ásta-Phrase.

$_1$stâlel $_2$tê $_3$?óy $_4$ti$_5$slîkeb [$_6$?ásta $_7$sláxeb]. '$_1$It's his nature $_2$there $_3$he is $_4$from $_5$its beginning [$_6$up to $_7$its end] (i.e., It's his nature to be there from the beginning to the end).' (X1.115)

$_1$sk'án$_2$to $_3$tixk'él [$_4$?ásta $_5$sláxeb $_6$ti$_7$xûn$_8$e]. '$_1$Its lack is $_2$still $_3$I read [$_4$up to $_5$its end $_6$the $_7$book$_8$(remote)] (i.e., I still haven't read to the end of the book).'

$_1$kîloxtutik $_2$k'âlal $_3$bîk'ituntutik [$_4$?ásta $_5$ti$_6$?óra$_7$to]. '$_1$We have seen it $_2$when $_3$we (excl) were small [$_4$up to $_5$at $_6$time $_7$still] (i.e., We have seen it since we were small right up until now).' (CL035)

$_1$xá? $_2$xêtš $_3$lâ $_4$xpástutik [$_5$?ásta $_6$nipástutik $_7$ti$_8$vînik]. '$_1$It is that: $_2$it is thus $_{3,4}$we (excl) did [$_5$until $_6$we (excl) were made $_7$into $_8$men] (i.e., This is how we did until we became men).' (CL031)

7.3. k'álal-Phrases. A k'álal-PHRASE consists of the Relator k'álal followed by a noun, a ti-Phrase, or a clause as axis. It is one of two types.

A LOCATIVE k'álal-PHRASE may occupy the Locative position of a clause, the subject position of a Question Clause based on bû 'where', or the axis of a mi-Phrase. It indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause continues to the point specified in the axis of the k'álal-Phrase.

$_1$lâ $_2$snûtsik $_3$bâtel [$_4$k'álal $_5$xóbel]. '$_{1,2}$They chased him $_3$(going) [$_4$as far as $_5$Las Casas].'

$_1$ti$_2$bû [$_3$k'álal $_4$šû? $_5$kû?un]$_6$e $_7$tšaxkóltaot. '$_1$(The) $_2$where [$_3$as far as $_4$it is able $_5$by me] $_6$(remote) $_7$I will help you (i.e., I'll help you as much as I can).' (NM094)

[$_1$k'álal $_2$ti$_3$xtéklum] $_4$mi[$_5$k'álal $_6$ti$_7$xóbel] $_8$šû?$_9$ša $_{10}$yû?un $_{11}$ti$_{12}$kêrem$_{13}$e. '[$_1$As far as $_2$to $_3$town] $_4$if [$_5$as far as $_6$to $_7$Las Casas] $_8$is able$_9$ now $_{10}$by him $_{11}$the $_{12}$boy $_{13}$(remote) (i.e., The boy can now travel as far as town or as far as Las Casas).'

The axis of a locative k'álal-Phrase may be a locative noun, or a locative ti-Phrase.

$_{1}$lék $_{2}$išánav $_{3}$k'álal [$_{4}$méxiko]. '$_{1}$Fine $_{2}$it travelled $_{3}$as far as [$_{4}$Mexico City].'
$_{1}$ti$_{2}$dióš$_{3}$e $_{4}$láx $_{5}$stén $_{6}$bátel $_{7}$k'álal [$_{8}$ti$_{9}$yíbil $_{10}$víxnaxel]$_{11}$ti$_{12}$púkux$_{13}$e. '$_{1}$(The) $_{2}$God $_{3}$(remote) $_{4,5}$threw $_{6}$(going) $_{7}$as far as [$_{8}$to $_{9}$its roots (the) $_{10}$sky] $_{11}$the $_{12}$devil $_{13}$(remote) (i. e., God threw the devil as far as the ends of the earth).' (DB033)

A TEMPORAL k'álal-PHRASE may occupy the Time Position of a clause or the Subject Position of an Attention Clause. It indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause is during the time specified in the axis of the k'álal-Phrase.

[$_{1}$k'álal $_{2}$i?ét'š $_{3}$ti$_{4}$xtéklum] $_{5}$ikíl [$_{6}$k'álal $_{7}$bík'itun$_{8}$to$_{9}$e]. '[$_{1}$When $_{2}$he passed $_{3}$through $_{4}$town] $_{5}$I saw him [$_{6}$when $_{7}$I was small $_{8}$still$_{9}$(remote)].' (MC045)
$_{1}$xá?$_{2}$to [$_{3}$k'álal $_{4}$lá $_{5}$xtátutik $_{6}$ti$_{7}$bé $_{8}$ti$_{9}$xtómas$_{10}$e] $_{11}$xá?$_{12}$to $_{13}$láx $_{14}$ká?itutik. '$_{1}$It is that $_{2}$still: [$_{3}$when $_{4,5}$we found $_{8}$(the) $_{9}$Thomas $_{10}$(remote) $_{6}$on (the) $_{7}$trail] $_{11}$it is that $_{12}$still: $_{13,14}$we heard it (i. e., Not until we met Thomas on the road did we hear it).'

The axis of a Temporal k'álal-Phrase may be a Temporal ti-Phrase or a clause. With a ti-Phrase as axis, the Temporal k'álal-Phrase indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause is consummated at the point of time indicated in the axis of the k'álal-Phrase.

$_{1}$šatál $_{2}$k'álal [$_{3}$ti$_{4}$xó?laxuneb $_{5}$k'ák'al]. '$_{1}$You come $_{2}$as long as [$_{3}$in $_{4}$fifteen $_{5}$days] (i. e., You come in fifteen days).' (NM070)
$_{1}$mú $_{2}$xná?tik $_{3}$mi$_{4}$tšixsút $_{5}$bátel $_{6}$ti$_{7}$yán $_{6}$?ú $_{9}$o$_{10}$k'álal [$_{11}$ti $_{12}$vášakib $_{13}$k'ák'al] $_{14}$o$_{15}$k'álal [$_{16}$ti$_{17}$yán $_{18}$xábil]. '$_{1}$It is not $_{2}$we know $_{3}$if $_{4}$we will return $_{5}$(going) $_{8}$in $_{7}$another $_{8}$month $_{9}$or $_{10}$as long as [$_{11}$in $_{12}$eight $_{13}$days] $_{14}$or $_{15}$as long as [$_{16}$in $_{17}$another $_{18}$year] (i. e., We don't know if we will return some other month or in eight days or some other year).' (X1. 144)
$_{1}$tsmán $_{2}$vákašetik $_{3}$ti$_{4}$kristšánoetik $_{5}$k'álal [$_{6}$mú$_{7}$to $_{8}$?óyuk$_{9}$yú]. '$_{3}$The $_{4}$people $_{1}$buy $_{2}$cattle $_{5}$when [$_{6}$it is not $_{7}$still $_{8}$it be there $_{9}$their debt] (i. e, The people buy cattle when they don't still have debts).' (OD024)

k'álal occurs idiomatically as subject of a Location Clause based on té with the meaning 'that's that'.

$_{1}$mi$_{2}$itšám $_{3}$té [$_{4}$k'álal]. '$_{1}$If $_{2}$it died (it's) $_{3}$there [$_{4}$when] (i. e., If it dies, that's that).' (MG068)
$_{1}$té [$_{2}$k'álal] $_{3}$mi$_{4}$xétš $_{5}$sk'án $_{6}$ti$_{7}$dióš$_{8}$e. '(It's) $_{1}$there [$_{2}$when] $_{3}$if $_{4}$it is thus $_{6}$(the) $_{7}$God $_{8}$(remote) $_{5}$wants (i. e., If that's what God wills, that's that).' (MG046)

7.4. mi-Phrases. A mi-PHRASE is a Conditional Phrase. It consists of the Relator mi followed by a clause as axis. It may occupy the conditional position of a clause, the subject of a Manner clause, or the object of Description clauses (4.1).

[$_1$mi $_2$šû? $_3$tšamán $_4$tálel] $_5$tákbun $_6$tálel. '[$_1$If $_2$it is able $_3$you will buy it $_4$coming] $_5$send it to me $_6$coming (i.e., If you are able to buy it, send it to me).' (NM598)

[$_1$mi $_2$tšk'ót $_3$ti $_4$pásel $_5$e] $_6$xá? $_7$lék. '[$_1$If $_2$it arrives $_3$by $_4$being done $_5$(remote),] $_6$it is that: $_7$it is good (i.e., If it happens, that will be good).' (PP322)

$_1$tixk'él [$_2$mi $_3$tá $_4$yûtsil]. '$_1$I will look [$_2$if $_3$it finds $_4$its niceness] (i.e., I will see if it is enough).' (NM536)

When the matrix clause is a negation clause, the Conditional Phrase may have a subjunctive clause based on the numeral 'one' or xûtuk 'little' as axis to indicate absolute negation.

[$_1$mi $_2$xûnuk] $_3$mû?yuk $_4$mût'šu $_5$?ótšem $_6$ti $_7$máystro $_8$lí?$_9$to. '[$_1$If $_2$it be one] $_3$it is not there be $_4$who it is $_5$entered $_6$as $_7$teacher $_8$here $_9$still (i.e., There is not even one who has become a teacher here).' (CL059)

$_1$mû $_2$xná?tik [$_3$mi $_4$xûtuk]. '$_1$It is not $_2$we know it [$_3$if $_4$it be a little] (i.e., We don't know anything).' (F2.071)

A QUESTION FOR CONFIRMATION is a Conditional Phrase functioning alone as an independent sentence. (It carries no special interrogative intonation.)

$_1$mi $_2$tixpástik. '$_1$If $_2$we will do it (i.e., Will we do it)?' (FB002)

$_1$mi $_2$?ép $_3$sk'án [$_4$mi $_5$tškák'be]. '$_1$If $_2$it's much $_3$they want [$_4$if $_5$I will give it to them] (i.e., If they want a lot, will I give it to them)?' (NM278)

The answer to a QUESTION FOR CONFIRMATION is never just 'yes', for which there is no lexical equivalent in Huixtec, and rarely 'no'; but usually involves repeating the predicator used in the question with or without negation (and any appropriate change of subject).

For example, if the question is mitšabât ?ók'om 'Are you going tomorrow?', a typical affirmative answer is tšibât 'I am going' and a negative answer, mû šibât 'I am not going'. The question may be negative, mimû šabât ?ók'om 'Aren't you going tomorrow?', and either of the two answers can still be given.

Any question, of course, has many possible answers. A question such as mitšak'án tšak'él xûn 'Do you want to read (lit., look at paper)?' may be answered in the following (as well as other) ways:

tixk'él. 'I'll look at it.'
tixk'án tixk'él. 'I want to look at it.'
mú xk'án. 'I don't want it.'
mú šú?. 'I am not able to.'
mú xná?. 'I don't know how.'

MODALS

A modal is one of a miscellaneous set of fifteen adverbs, which modify a predicator or clause. The fifteen modals are:

1.	to	(continuative)
2.	ša	(perfective)
3.	?oš	(past perfective)
4.	?o	(conclusive)
5.	no?oš	(limitative)
6.	me	(emphatic)
7.	van	(dubitative)
8.	bi	(assertative)
9.	mati	(cognitive)
10.	la	(quotative)
11.	noštok	(repetitive)
12.	?uk	(adjunctive)
13.	xu?un	(asseverative)
14.	xumbi	(speculative)
15.	tšé?	(consequential)

The form modified and following modal adverb together constitute a MODAL PHRASE The form modified may be a word, a phrase, or a clause. A Modal Phrase may itself be modified by a modal, thus allowing (in a restricted sense) self-embedding. This may result in two, or even three, modals occurring in sequence. There are, of course, heavy restrictions on which modals may modify what forms, and each modal seems to have a unique distribution.

?óy 'there is'
?óy ša 'there already is'
?óy ša van 'there probably already is'
?óy ša me van 'there probably already (emphatic) is'

8.1. The PRESENT CONTINUATIVE PHRASE may be any otherwise unmodified predicator followed by to (present continuative). It indicates that action initiated in the past continues in the present.

$_1$láx[$_2$to] $_3$xpás. '$_3$I [$_2$still] $_{1,3}$did it.' (F2, 153)

$_1$mû[$_2$to] $_3$škák'. '$_1$It is not [$_2$still] $_3$I give her (i. e., I still will not give her).' (AB102)

8.2. The PERFECTIVE PHRASE may be any otherwise unmodified predicator followed by ša (perfective). It indicates that an action is prior to present or future time.

$_1$mû[$_2$ša] $_3$lí?ukot $_4$ti $_5$méxiko. '$_1$It is not [$_2$now] $_3$you be here $_4$in $_5$Mexico (i. e., You are not here in Mexico now).' (NM348)
$_1$?áy[$_2$ša] $_3$sp'ís $_4$ti $_5$bálumil$_6$e. '$_3$He has [$_2$already] $_1$come and gone (and) $_3$measured $_4$the $_5$land $_6$(remote).' (NM592)

8.3. The PAST PERFECTIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator of a perfection Phrase followed by ?oš (past perfective). It indicates that an action is prior to some other past action.

$_1$k'álal $_2$i?ótš $_3$ti$_4$xóbel $_5$itál[$_6$?oš] $_7$ti $_8$?ávyon. '$_1$When $_2$he entered $_3$(into) $_4$Las Casas, $_7$the$_8$ plane $_5$came [$_6$already] (i. e., When he entered Las Casas, the plane had already come).' (OD071)
$_1$ti$_2$?akósto $_3$yíx$_4$ša[$_5$?oš] $_6$ti$_7$xtšób$_8$e. '$_1$In $_2$August $_6$(the) $_7$my cornfield $_8$(remote) (is) $_4$now [$_5$already] $_3$ripe.' (YW008)

8.4. The CONCLUSIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator, a Perfective Phrase, or a clause followed by ?o (conclusive). It indicates a lack of deviation.

$_1$té[$_2$?o]$_3$no?oš $_4$isút $_5$batel. '$_1$It was there [$_2$(conclusive)] $_3$precisely $_4$he returned $_5$going.' (OD094)
$_1$mûk$_2$ša[$_3$?o] $_4$sût $_5$bátel. '$_1$It be not $_2$now [$_3$(conclusive)] $_4$he returns $_5$going (i. e., He never went back now).' (OD084)
$_1$mû$_2$ša $_3$xk'ántik[$_4$?o]. '$_1$It is not $_2$now $_3$we want it [$_4$(conclusive)] (i. e., We now don't want it ever).' (PP254)

8.5. The LIMITATIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator, a Present Continuative, a Perfective, or a Conclusive Phrase followed by no?oš (limitative). It indicates circumscribed and unmixed action.

$_1$vókol[$_2$no?oš] $_3$itíl. '$_1$Trouble [$_2$precisely] $_3$it burst into flame (i. e., It didn't want to light).' (PP042)
$_1$té$_2$ to[$_3$no?oš] $_4$xtálel $_5$tšixmûpun. '$_1$It is there $_2$still [$_3$precisely] $_4$our custom (that) $_5$we marry (i. e., It's still our custom to marry).' (AB109)

$_1$lâx$_2$ša[$_3$no ʔoš] $_4$xt'šák. '$_1$Finished $_2$now [$_3$precisely] $_4$we divide them (i. e., We have already disbursed them).' (NM134)
$_1$tê$_2$ʔo[$_3$no ʔoš] $_4$isût $_5$bâtel. '$_1$It was there $_2$(conclusive) [$_3$precisely] $_4$he returned $_5$going.' (OD094)

8. 6. The EMPHATIC PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator, a present continuative, a perfective, or a limitative phrase followed by me (emphatic). It indicates emphasis.

$_1$nâʔik[$_2$me] $_3$akótolik. '$_1$Remember [$_2$(emphatic)] $_3$all of you.' (X1. 105)
$_1$tâ$_2$to[$_3$me] $_4$stšápax. '$_1$Find $_2$still [$_3$(emphatic)] $_4$it is arranged (i. e., It will still be settled).'
$_1$mû$_2$ša[$_3$me] $_4$šálik $_5$ti$_6$kóralito. '$_1$It is not $_2$now [$_3$(emphatic)] $_4$they do down $_5$to $_6$Corralito (i. e. They are not to go down to Corralito now).' (PP030)
$_1$xûn$_2$no ʔoš[$_3$me] $_4$kárton $_5$tškît'š $_6$bâtel. '$_1$One $_2$only [$_3$(emphatic)] $_4$carton (that) $_5$I'll take $_6$going (i. e., I'll take only one carton).'

In Negation Clauses me indicates injunctions. Compare the following sets of examples:

mû šapás. 'You are not doing it.'
mûme šapás. 'Don't do it!'
mû xpástik. 'We don't do it.'
mûme xpástik. 'Let us not do it.'

8. 7. The DUBITATIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicate, a present continuative, a perfective, or a limitative, followed by van (dubitative). It indicates that an action is probable.

$_1$xó ʔobuk[$_2$van] $_3$lá $_4$xmûk. '$_1$It be five [$_2$probably] (that) $_{3,4}$I buried (i. e., It was probably five that I buried).' (OD107)
$_1$mû$_2$to[$_3$van] $_4$sk'án. '$_1$It is not $_2$still [$_3$probably] $_4$he wants it (i. e., He probably does not want it yet).'
$_1$ʔóy$_2$ša[$_3$van] $_4$xûnuk $_5$ʔû. '$_1$There is $_3$now [$_3$probably] $_4$be it one $_5$month (i. e., It is now probably about a month).' (F2. 154)
$_1$xêtš$_2$no ʔoš[$_3$van] $_4$tšálik. '$_1$It is thus $_2$precisely [$_3$probably] $_4$they are saying it (i. e., They are probably saying just that).' (MC058)

8. 8. The ASSERTATIVE PHRASE is a clause or a conclusive phrase followed by bi (assertative). It indicates that a statement is unquestionably true.

$_1$xâ? $_2$tixk'ân[$_3$bi]. '$_1$It is that: $_2$I want it [$_3$for sure] (i.e., That's what I want).' (PP395)
$_1$pûkux$_2$?o[$_3$bi]. '$_1$(It's) a devil $_2$(conclusive) [$_3$for sure] (i.e., It's devilish for sure).' (PP144)

8.9. The COGNITIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator followed by matſ (cognitive). It indicates a sudden recognition of actuality. The Cognitive Phrase receives phrase stress on its final syllable, and often occurs with exclamatory intonation.

$_1$tšópol[$_2$matſ]. '$_1$It is harmful [$_2$truly] (i.e., It really is harmful)!' (F2.133)
$_1$xóvil[$_2$matſ] $_3$tixk'ópontik. '$_1$It is in vain [$_2$truly] (that) $_3$we talk to him (i.e., It really is in vain that we talk to him)!'

8.10. The QUOTATIVE PHRASE is a clause, an otherwise unmodified predicator, a present continuative, or a perfective phrase followed by la (quotative). It indicates that someone other than the speaker is originally responsible for the statement.

$_1$k'ûsi[$_2$la] $_3$tšak'ân. '$_1$What is it [$_2$it is said] $_3$you want (i.e., What do you want?, she said).'
$_1$tštâl[$_2$la] $_3$?ſtšin. '$_1$It is coming [$_2$it is said] $_3$an owl (i.e., They said an owl was coming).' (F1.016)
$_1$?óy$_2$to[$_3$la] $_4$?ſšim. '$_1$There is $_2$still [$_3$it is said] $_4$corn (i.e., They say there is still corn).'
$_1$tšák'$_2$šа[$_3$la]. '$_1$He is giving it $_2$already [$_3$it is said] (i.e., They say he is already giving it).'

8.11. The REPETITIVE PHRASE is a clause followed by noštok (repetitive). It indicates that an action has been performed before.

$_1$ti$_2$xûnyo $_3$tši?âk'inax[$_4$noštok]. '(It's) $_1$in $_2$June $_3$I weed [$_4$again].' (YW004)
$_1$?óy$_2$van $_3$xûnuk $_4$k'âk'al[$_5$noštok] $_6$lâ $_7$xſt'tutik$_8$ti$_9$na$_{10}$e. '$_1$There is $_2$probably $_3$be it one $_4$day [$_5$again] (that) $_{6,7}$I put the walls on $_8$the $_9$house $_{10}$(remote) (i.e., There was probably another day again when we put the walls on the house).' (HB022)

8.12. The ADJUNCTIVE PHRASE occurs in a variety of clause positions and, unlike other modals, may consist of a possessed noun with following ?uk (adjunctive). It indicates that the item modified is in a similar relation to another item.

$_1$tšakálbot[$_2$?uk] $_3$i?ótš $_4$ti$_5$kavílto $_6$ti$_7$xmíkel$_8$e. '$_1$I will tell you [$_2$also] (that) $_6$(the) $_7$Miguel $_8$(remote) $_3$entered $_4$the $_5$presidency (i. e., I will tell you that Miguel has town work).' (NM152)
$_1$tsták $_2$tálel $_3$skárta[$_4$?uk] $_5$ti$_6$xmít'šon$_7$e. '$_5$(The) $_6$my son $_7$(remote) $_1$is sending $_2$(coming) $_3$his letter [$_4$also].' (NM469)

8.13. The ASSEVERATIVE PHRASE is a clause followed by xu?un (asseverative). It indicates strong affirmation with an implied lack of forbearance.

$_1$k'álal $_2$itál $_3$ti $_4$carránza[$_5$xu?un] $_6$láx $_7$stóy $_8$ti $_9$?áxvalil. '$_1$It was when $_3$(the) $_4$Carranza $_2$came [$_5$(affirmation)] $_8$the $_9$authorities $_{8,7}$raised it (the wage).' (OD008)
$_1$ti$_2$?óra$_3$me[$_4$xu?un]. '$_1$At $_2$once $_3$(emphatic) [$_4$(affirmation)] (i. e., (Do it) right away)!' (NM489)

8.14. The SPECULATIVE PHRASE is a clause followed by xumbi, which occurs with phrase stress on its final syllable. The derivation of xumbi is not clear. It looks in form like xu?un (asseverative) or xún 'one' followed by bi (assertative), but the joining of these does not give an acceptable semantic interpretation. It indicates indecisiveness and a willingness to further consider the situation.

$_1$xtúk $_2$tšikóm[$_3$xumbí]. '$_1$I alone $_2$(I) will stay [$_3$I guess].' (AJ034)
$_1$mélel $_2$mú$_3$to $_4$škák' [$_5$xumbí]. '$_1$It's true (that) $_2$it is not $_3$still $_4$I give her [$_5$I am thinking] (i. e., It's true, I am not thinking of giving her yet).' (AB102)

8.15. The CONSEQUENTIAL PHRASE is a clause followed by tšé? (consequential) and the deictic ending e (remote context). It indicates that an action naturally follows from something else.

$_1$k'élo $_2$avíl [$_3$tšé?$_4$e] $_5$tšánav $_6$tšavíl. '[$_3$So $_4$(remote)] $_1$look (so) $_2$you see, $_5$he is walking $_6$you see (i. e., So look, he is walking you see).' (MC015)
$_1$tá$_2$me $_3$šaválbun $_4$tálel $_5$k'úsi $_6$?óra $_7$tšatál [$_8$tšé?$_9$e]. '[$_9$So $_8$(remote)] $_1$find $_2$(emphatic) $_3$you tell me $_4$coming $_5$what $_6$time $_7$you will come (i. e. So you will tell me when you are coming).' (NM550)

APPOSITION

Apposition is an important phenomenon in Tzotzil (as in other languages) and one which requires a good deal more study and understanding than is represented by this brief chapter. The following description, therefore, must be considered only suggestive and tentative. Further study should take semological units into consideration.

Appositive phrases are additive or alternative. Alternative phrases may occur in the Time, Conditional and Object positions of the clause; Additive phrases may occur in any nominal position of the clause, and in the Time, Location, and Vocative positions.

9.1. Alternative Phrases. Alternative Phrases in the Time position are composed of two temporal stative verbs.

$_1$tšaxk'óponot $_2$?ók'om $_3$tšá?ex, '$_1$I will talk to you $_2$tomorrow (or) $_3$two days from now (i. e. the next day).' (AB230)

Alternative phrases in the Object and Conditional positions are always mi-Phrases.

In Object: $_1$tšká?itik$_2$ša $_3$mi$_4$tstšápax$_5$e $_6$mi$_7$mú $_8$stšápax$_9$e. '$_1$We will hear $_2$now $_3$if $_4$it will be arranged $_5$(remote) $_6$if $_7$it is not $_8$it is arranged $_9$(remote) (i. e., We will hear now whether it will be taken care of or not).' (PP174)

In Conditional: $_1$mi$_2$kérem $_3$mi$_4$tséb $_5$tstóy $_6$sbáik. '$_1$If $_2$it is a boy $_3$if $_4$it is a girl $_5$they lift up $_6$themselves (i. e,, Whether boy or girl they want to go their own way).' (EW055)

9.2. Additive Phrases. Additive Phrases may be series of nouns, phrases, or clauses, or combinations of these.

In Possessor: $_1$lék $_2$?óyuntutik $_3$stšl?uk $_4$ti$_5$kermána $_6$maryána $_7$krasyéla $_8$xmartín. '$_1$Fine $_2$we (excl) are $_3$along with $_4$(the) $_5$my brethren $_6$Marion $_7$Grace $_8$Martin (i. e., Our brethren Marion, Grace, Martin and myself are all fine).' (NL136)

$_1$nítšim $_2$no?oš $_3$kó?nton $_4$xkótoltutik $_5$stšl?uk $_6$ti $_7$kermánotik $_8$ti$_9$lí? $_{10}$skótol $_{11}$lí? $_{12}$to $_{13}$víniketik $_{14}$?ántsetik $_{15}$?óloletik. '$_1$A flower $_2$precisely $_3$our

hearts $_4$all of us (excl) $_5$along with $_6$(the) $_7$our brethren $_8$that $_9$are here $_{10}$all of them $_{11}$here $_{12}$still $_{13}$men $_{14}$women $_{15}$children (i.e., All of us here are happy along with our brethren, men, women, and children).' (MS023)

In Object: $_1$skótol $_2$k'ák'al $_3$tšbá $_4$xk'ópontik $_5$ti$_6$xtótik $_7$?ánxel$_8$e. '$_1$Every $_2$day $_3$going $_4$we talk to $_5$(the) $_6$our father $_7$the angel $_8$(remote) (i.e., Every day we go and talk to our father the Angel).' (VA021)

$_1$tšistšúk'bun $_2$ti$_3$xk'ú? $_4$xpók'tutik$_5$e. '$_1$She washes for us (excl) $_2$(the) $_3$our shirt-dress $_4$our cloth $_5$(remote) (i.e., She washes our clothes for us).' (NL107)

In Subject: $_1$xá? $_2$lék $_3$táka $_4$st'šún $_5$ti$_6$yán $_7$ti$_8$kermánotik $_9$xtšl?iltik $_{10}$ti $_{11}$xtéklum. '$_1$That is it: $_2$it is good $_3$if it were $_4$they believe it $_5$the $_6$others $_7$(the) $_8$our friends $_9$our companions $_{10}$in $_{11}$town (i.e., It would be good if the others of our brethren, our companions in town, would believe it).' (PP164)

$_1$ti$_2$?antívo $_3$ti$_4$xtót $_5$xmé?tutik$_6$e $_7$láx $_8$yá?yik $_9$ti$_{10}$ló?il $_{11}$ti$_{12}$vó?one. '$_1$The $_2$ancient (ones) $_3$(the) $_4$our fathers $_5$our mothers $_6$(remote) $_{7,8}$they heard $_9$the $_{10}$story $_{11}$in $_{12}$the past (i.e., Our forefathers heard the story long ago).' (VA001)

$_1$ná?ik$_2$me $_3$akótolik $_4$xáyibošuk $_5$lí?oyošuk$_6$e. '$_1$Remember $_2$(emphatic) $_3$all of you$_4$ how many of you $_5$are here $_6$(remote).' (X1.105)

In Vocative: $_1$xbánkil $_2$vîšin $_3$tšaxk'ópon $_4$ká?itik $_5$?ók'om $_6$tšá?ex. '$_1$Older brother, $_2$older sister, $_3$we will talk to you (so) $_4$we will hear $_5$tomorrow (or) $_6$the next day.' (AB178)

A series of Accompaniment phrases may occupy the subject position.

$_1$lék $_2$?óyuntutik $_3$stší?uk $_4$ti$_5$kermâna $_6$maryâna $_7$krasyêla $_8$xmartín $_9$stší?uk $_{10}$xó?on $_{11}$stši?uk $_{12}$skótol $_{13}$ván $_{14}$kermánotik $_{15}$tálem $_{16}$ti$_{17}$losestáros. '$_1$Fine $_2$we (excl) are $_3$along with $_4$(the) $_5$our friends $_6$Marion, $_7$Grace, $_8$Martin $_9$and $_{10}$I $_{11}$and $_{12}$all (the) $_{13}$other $_{14}$our friends (who) $_{15}$have come $_{16}$from $_{17}$the States.' (NL136)

A series of clauses may occupy the Subject position.

$_1$?óy $_2$xún $_3$vînik $_4$mól$_5$ša $_6$tê $_7$ti$_8$tšána?al. '$_1$There is $_2$one $_3$man $_4$he is old $_5$now $_6$he is there $_7$in $_8$Chanal (i.e., There was an old man there in Chanal).' (MC001)

A series of Determined Noun Phrases may occupy the Object position.

$_1$xá? $_2$láx $_3$smêltsan $_4$skótol $_5$ti$_6$vînaxel$_7$e $_8$ti$_9$k'ánaletik$_{10}$e $_{11}$ti$_{12}$vînaxel$_{13}$e $_{14}$ti $_{15}$?ú$_{16}$e $_{17}$ti$_{18}$skótol$_{19}$e. '$_1$That is it $_{2,3}$he made $_4$its allness $_5$the $_6$sky-heaven $_7$(remote) $_8$the $_9$stars $_{10}$(remote) $_{11}$the $_{12}$sky $_{13}$(remote) $_{14}$the $_{15}$moon $_{16}$(re-

mote) $_{17}$(the) $_{18}$its allness $_{19}$(remote) (i. e., It is he who made all the sky, the stars, the sky, the moon, all of it).' (VA046)

A series of stative verbs, phrases, or phrase and clause may occupy the Time Position.

$_{1}$tšibát $_{2}$sób $_{3}$?ík'luman $_{4}$?ók'om. '$_{1}$I will go $_{2}$early $_{3}$in the morning $_{4}$tomorrow.'
$_{1}$xétš $_{2}$ik'ót $_{3}$ti$_{4}$pásel $_{5}$ti$_{6}$vó?onen $_{7}$k'álal $_{8}$?únenvinikun$_{9}$to. '$_{1}$It is thus $_{2}$it arrived $_{3}$to $_{4}$be done $_{5}$in $_{6}$the past $_{7}$when $_{8}$I was a young man $_{9}$still.'
$_{1}$ti$_{2}$sákub?osil $_{3}$?óy$_{4}$van $_{5}$ti$_{6}$báluneb $_{7}$?óra$_{8}$ixók' $_{9}$lók'el. '$_{1}$At $_{2}$daybreak $_{3}$there is $_{4}$probably $_{5}$at $_{6}$nine $_{7}$hours $_{8}$it was dug $_{9}$out (i. e., It was dug up at daybreak probably around nine o'clock).' (FB041)

A series of ti-Phrases, locative clauses, or a sequence of phrase and clause may occupy the Locative position.

$_{1}$bá $_{2}$yák'ik $_{3}$ti$_{4}$póštael $_{5}$ti$_{6}$?ŕspital. '$_{1}$Went $_{2}$they give him $_{3}$to $_{4}$be doctored $_{5}$at $_{6}$a hospital (i. e., They went and turned him over to be doctored at a hospital).' (MC040)
$_{1}$tšavál $_{2}$tálel $_{3}$amántal $_{4}$lí? $_{5}$ti$_{6}$xóbel$_{7}$e $_{8}$té $_{9}$ti$_{10}$kaványa$_{11}$e. '$_{1}$You will tell $_{2}$coming $_{3}$your command $_{4}$it is here $_{5}$in $_{6}$Las Casas $_{7}$(remote) $_{8}$it is there $_{9}$at $_{10}$the Cabaña $_{11}$(remote) (i. e., You will send your order here to the Cabaña here in Las Casas).' (CL074)
$_{1}$lák $_{2}$slápik $_{3}$ti$_{4}$préšu $_{5}$lí? $_{6}$ti$_{7}$vistán. '$_{1,2}$They enclosed him $_{3}$in $_{4}$a prison $_{5}$it is here $_{6}$in $_{7}$Huixtán.' (MC011)

WORD FORMATION

A GRAMMATICAL WORD in Huixtec is either a PARTICLE or is STEM-BASED. A particle is a single morpheme which does not occur with affixes—derivational or inflectional. A stem-based word has a stem as base. A stem differs from a particle either in (1) being constituted of more than one morpheme, or (2) having a potential for occurrence with inflectional affixes, or both. A simple (i.e. one-morpheme) stem is a ROOT. A composite (i.e. more-than-one-morpheme) stem is a RADICAL, a COMPOUND, or a COMPOUND RADICAL. A radical is a root in construction with one or more derivational affixes. A compound has two constituents, either of which may be a root, a radical, or a compound. A compound radical is a compound in construction with one or more derivational affixes.

10.1. Root Classification. A Root is classified on the basis of its occurrence with inflectional affixes and upon syntactic function. There are six classes of single-function roots,

1. intransitive (ir)
2. transitive (tr)
3. stative (sr)
4. numeral(numr)
5. classifier (cr)
6. neutral (ntr)

five classes of double-function roots,

7. intransitive-transitive (i-tr)
8. intransitive-noun (i-nr)
9. transitive-classifier (t-cr)
10. transitive-noun (t-nr)
11. stative-noun (nr)

and one small class of triple-function roots

12. intransitive-transitive-noun (i-t-nr)

(1) An INTRANSITIVE ROOT occurs directly with intransitive inflection, as in

COMPL-FIRST-[bât] 'I went,' n-i-bât, nibât.
COMPL-THIRD-[vĩnax] 'it appeared,' i-Ø-vĩnax, ivĩnax.
INCOMPL-SECOND-[lûb]-PL 'You are becoming tired,' tš-a-lûb-ik, tšalûbik.

(2) A TRANSITIVE ROOT occurs directly with transitive inflection, as in

COMPL-SECOND-FIRST-[?ĩk'] 'I took you,' n-a-k-?ĩk', nakØĩk', nakĩk'.
INCOMPL-FIRST-THIRD-[póx]-REF-FIRST 'She will snatch it away from me,' tš-i-y-póx-be-un, tšispóxbØun, tšispóxbun.
THIRD-FIRST-[pás]-PERF-THIRD 'I have done it,' Ø-k-pás-ox-Ø, xpásox.

(3) A STATIVE ROOT occurs directly with intransitive stative inflection as marked for passive mode and perfective aspect, yet without an overt aspect marker, as in

[nât]-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am tall,' nât-Ø-Ø-un, nâtun.
[?ânts]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'It is a woman,' ?ânts-Ø-Ø-Ø, ?ânts.
[p'ĩx]-PERF-PASS-SECOND 'you are wise,' p'ĩx-Ø-Ø-ot, p'ĩxot.

(4) and (5) NUMERAL ROOTS and CLASSIFIER ROOTS occur in compound to form a subset of stative stems.

Numeral roots name the numbers from one to twelve. They are xûn 'one', tšâ? 'two', ?óš 'three', tšân 'four', xó? 'five', vâk 'six', xûk 'seven', vâšak 'eight', bâlun 'nine', lâxun 'ten', bûlutš 'eleven', lâxtša? 'twelve'.

A Classifier root is descriptive of objects quantified, and classifies nouns into gender classes. For example, vĩnik 'man' and ?ânts 'woman' belong to one gender class and occur with the classifier vó?, whereas ?âxan 'ear of corn' and lâpis 'pencil' fall into a different class and occur with the classifier t'šĩš.

tšâ?-kót vákaž 'two (nonbiped) oxen'
?óš-kót ?âvyon 'three (nonbiped) airplanes'
tšân-kót kĩtš 'four (nonbiped) peppers'
tšân-bûs naránšaš 'four piles of oranges'
tšâ?-vó? ?ântsetik 'two (biped) women'

A Numeral root may also occur reduplicated in construction with a classifier root to form a stative stem.

xû-xû-tóš 'one one kind (i.e. each kind)'
tšà?-tšá?-vó? 'two two bipeds (i.e. each pair of people)'

(6) A NEUTRAL ROOT always requires the occurrence of one or another derivational affix, the particular affix determining whether the resulting radical is intransitive, transitive, or stative. As is the case with other roots, a neutral root may occur with a variety of derivational affixes.

[tâk]-in-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is dry,' tâk-in-Ø-Ø-Ø, tâkin.
COMPL-THIRD-[tâk]-Vx 'it dried,' i-Ø-tâk-ix, itâkix.
COMPL-SECOND-[tšé?]-in 'you laughed,' n-a-tšé?in, natšé?in.
[tšé?]-ex-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'laughter,' tšé?-ex-Ø-Ø-Ø, tšé?ex as in ?ép tšák' tšé?ex 'Much it gives laughter (i.e., It makes us laugh).'

(7) An INTRANSITIVE-TRANSITIVE ROOT may occur directly with either intransitive or transitive inflection.

INCOMPL-FIRST-[šɬ?] 'I am afraid,' tš-i-šɬ?, tšišɬ?.
INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[šɬ?]-THIRD 'I fear him,' tš-Ø-k-šɬ?-Ø, tixšɬ?.
COMPL-FIRST-[vé?] 'I ate,' n-i-vé?, nivé?.
COMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[vé?]-THIRD 'I ate it,' i-Ø-k-vé?-Ø, ixvé?.

(8) An INTRANSITIVE-NOUN ROOT may occur directly with intransitive inflection or noun possession.

INCOMPL-SECOND-[p'ól]-PL 'You (pl) are multiplying,' tš-a-p'ól-ik, tšap'ólik.
SECOND-[p'ól] 'your increased corn (i.e. your popped corn),' av-p'ól, ap'ól.

(9) A TRANSITIVE-CLASSIFIER ROOT may occur directly with transitive inflection or function as a classifier.

INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[šét']-THIRD 'you will break it in pieces,' tš-Ø-av-šét'-Ø, tšašét'.
tšán-[šét'] 'four pieces (as of a pill, cookie, etc.]

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[tût'š]-THIRD 'I am cutting it,' tš-ø-k-tût'š-ø, tixtût'š.
tšá?-[tût'š] 'two pieces (as of land, meat, etc.)'

(10) A TRANSITIVE-NOUN ROOT may occur directly with transitive or noun inflection.

COMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[tšûk]-THIRD 'I tied it,' i-ø-k-tšûk-ø, ixtšûk.
FIRST-[tšûk] 'my wool sash,' k-tšûk, xtšûk.
INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[mát's]-THIRD 'you are chewing it,' tš-ø-av-mát'š-ø, tšamát'š.
SECOND-[mát'š] 'your corn drink,' av-mát'š, amát'š.

(11) A STATIVE-NOUN ROOT occurs directly with intransitive inflection, passive mode, and perfective aspect (like single-function stative roots), and with noun possession. The vast majority of Tzotzil noun roots belong to this class.

[vînik]-PERF-PASS-SECOND 'you are a man,' vînik-ø-ø-ot, vînikot.
SECOND-[vînik] 'your man,' av-vînik, aøvînik, avînik.
[tê?]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is wood,' tê?-ø-ø-ø, tê?.
SECOND-[tê?] 'your pole, trees, wood,' av-tê?, aøtê?, atê?.

(12) An INTRANSITIVE-TRANSITIVE-NOUN ROOT may occur with transitive or intransitive inflection, or noun possession.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[mâk]-THIRD 'I will cover it,' tš-ø-k-mâk-ø, tixmâk.
COMPL-THIRD-[mâk] 'It closed (by itself),' i-ø-mâk, imâk.
THIRD-[mâk] 'its cover,' y-mâk, smâk.
INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[xâm]-THIRD 'You are opening it,' tš-ø-av-xâm-ø, tšaøxâm, tšaxâm.
INCOMPL-THIRD-[xâm] 'It is opening (by itself),' tš-ø-xâm, tšxâm.
THIRD-[xâm] 'its opening (i.e. its meaning),' y-xâm, sxâm.

10.2. Stem Classification. A Stem is classified by the same criteria as a root: by occurrence with inflectional affixes and by syntactic function. There are three major classes of stems:

1. intransitive verb stems (ivs)
2. transitive verb stems (tvs)
3. stative verb stems (svs)

These three classes of stems have the same inflectional and syntactic characteristics as the roots of the same name. They differ mainly from roots in including both simple roots and composite forms as well—radicals, compounds, and compound radicals.

COMPL-THIRD-[sák-Ub] 'it became light,' i-s-sák-ub, iØsákub, isákub.
[káx-bát]-IMPV-SECOND 'go on ahead,' káx-bát-o-an, káxbátØan, káxbatan.
INCOMPL-THIRD-[xóvil-k'óp-ox] 'He is talking in delirium,' tš-Ø-xóvil-k'ópox, tšxóvilk'ópox.
INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[sákub-tas]-THIRD 'I will whiten it,' tš-Ø-k-sákub-tas-Ø, tixsákubtas.
INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[tšá?-pás]-THIRD 'You are doing it again,' tš-Ø-av-tšá?-pás-Ø, tšaØtšá?pás, tšatšá?pás.
láx-THIRD-SECOND-[šón-xól-Vn]-THIRD 'You used it as a pillow,' láx-Ø-av-šón-xól-in-Ø, láx aØšónxólin, láx ašónxólin.
[xó?-vó?]-PERF-PASS-SECOND-PL 'you are five,' xó?-vó?-Ø-Ø-ot-Uk, xó?vó?ošuk.
[k'ón-k'ón-tik]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is yellowish,' k'ón-k'ón-tik-Ø-Ø-Ø, k'ónk'ontik.

Each of the stem classes has several subclasses, but stative verb stems, in particular, need to be divided into two classes on the basis of inflection:

1. noun stems (ns)
2. stative stems (ss)

A Noun stem may occur with possessor or plural inflection as well as stative verb stem inflection. A Stative stem only occurs with stative verb stem inflection, and may not be possessed or pluralized. Each of these classes must be further classified on syntactic grounds, and this has been indicated to a certain extent in Chapters 3 and 5 above.

FIRST-[?áxnil] 'my wife,' k-?áxnil, kØáxnil, káxnil.
FIRST-[?áxnil]-PERF-PASS-SECOND 'You are my wife,' k-?áxnil-Ø-Ø-ot, kØáxnilot, káxnilot.
THIRD-[?áxnil]-PL 'his wives,' y-?áxnil-tak, yØáxniltak, yáxniltak.
SECOND-[ná] 'your house,' av-ná, aØná, aná.
SECOND-[ná]-PERF-PASS-THIRD-PL 'These are your houses,' av-ná-Ø-Ø-Ø-ik, aØnáik, anáik.
[ná]-PL 'houses,' ná-etik, náetik.
[pó̱šta]-REF-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I have been doctored,' pó̱šta-be-Rl-Ø-un, pó̱štabØilun, pó̱štabilun.
[tákin]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'It is dry,' tákin-Ø-Ø-Ø, tákin.

No attempt is made here to classify stems on the basis of their structure. Such a classification would be extremely complex and involve the whole question of idiom formation. Discussion of derivation is limited in this study to a description of certain prime tendencies of the derivational system.

10.3. Formation of Compounds. A compound has two constituents, either of which may be a root, a radical, or a compound, in the following patterns.

(1) Root plus root:

nr-nr: bé-t'šɪ̌t'š 'trail-blood (i.e. vein, artery)'
sr-nr: k'á?-t'šɪ̌š 'rotten-thorntree (i.e. hawthorn tree)'
tr-nr: pɪ̌š-xól 'wrap-head (i.e. hat)'
ntr-nr: k'ál-ná 'side-house (i.e. wall)'
numr-cr: tšá?-kót 'two-nonbiped (i.e. two (animals, airplanes, etc.))'
sr reduplicated: lék-lék 'good-good (i.e. just right, nice)'
sr-ir: sák-vɪ̌l 'white-fly (i.e. pale (of face))'
ntr-tr: kák-sá? 'on top of-search (i.e. search before)'
numr-tr: tšá?-pás 'two-do (i.e. do again)'
ntr-ir: kák-bát 'on top of-go (i.e. go on ahead)'
numr-ir: tšá?-sút 'two-return (i.e. return again)'
Sp. loan-nr: ?óra-tšón 'right away-snake (i.e. deadly viper)'
nr-Sp. loan: tɪ̌?-kóral 'opening-corral (i.e. gate of corral)'
Sp. loan-Sp. loan: ?éstranxéro-trɪ̌ko 'foreign-wheat (i.e. barley)'

(2) Root plus radical:

nr-ns: mé?-[k'ɪ̌n-ob-al] 'mother-mist (i.e. rainbow)'
sr-ns: tú-[nɪ̌tš-im] 'fetid-flower (i.e. mint)'
ir-ns: mál-[k'ák'-al] 'set-sun (i.e. afternoon)'
ntr-tvs: kák-[mél-ts-an] 'on top of-fix, make (i.e. fix, make ahead of time)'
numr-tvs: tšá?-[lók'-es] 'two-take out (i.e. take out again)'
ntr-ivs: kák-[tšáp-ax] 'on top of-prepare (i.e. prepare ahead of time)'
numr-ivs: tšá?-[kúš-i] 'two-live (i.e. come to life again)'
sr-ss: mól-[mé?-el] 'old(men)-old(women) (i.e. old people)'
numr-nums: xó?-[láxun-eb] 'five-ten (.e. fifteen)'
Sp. loan-ns: kántela-[nɪ̌tš-im] 'candle-flower (i.e. gladiola)'

(3) Radical plus root:

ns-nr: [t'súb-il]-lúm 'powder-ground (i.e. dust)'
ss-nr: [vók'-b-il]-té? 'broken-wood (i.e. shingles)'

ivs-nr: [k'át-in]-bák 'warm one's self-bone (i.e. hell)'
ss-tr: [múk-ul]-?ík' 'hidden-call, invite (i.e. secretly call, invite)'
ns-Sp. loan: [té?-el]-mansána 'tree-quality-apple (i.e. apple tree)'

(4) Radical plus radical:

ns-ns: [sík-il]-[tšám-el] 'cold-quality-sickness (i.e. malaria)'
ss-ns: [xís-b-il]-[tí-b-ol] 'cut in strips-meat (i.e. salted meat strips)'
ss-tvs: [t'šút'š-ul]-[púš-ilan] 'small pieces-fold repeatedly (i.e. fold something smaller and smaller)'
tvs reduplicated: [mák-an]-[mák-an] 'repeatedly close off-repeatedly close off (i.e. keep on taking over (as land))'
ns reduplicated: [šók-on]-[šók-on] 'side-side (i.e. all sides (of something))'

(5) Root plus compound:

nr-ns: tí?-[mák-té?] 'opening-[enclosure-wood] (i.e. fence gate)'
tr-ns: pás-[kášlan-vax] 'make-[foreign-corncakes] (i.e. bread-making)'

(6) Radical plus compound:

ns-ns: [k'án-al]-[?ó?n-ton] '[yellow-quality]-[heart-stone] (i.e. bird with yellow breast)'
ss-tvc: [xóv-il]-[máx-an-máx-an] '[in vain]-[hit repeatedly-hit repeatedly] (i.e. needlessly keep on hitting repeatedly)'

(7) Compound plus root:

ns-nr: [tšá?-vá?-al]-mé? '[two-person-quality]-mother (i.e. stepmother)'
ns-nr: [tí?-tí?]-náb '[edge-edge]-deep water (i.e. lake shore, ocean shore)'
ss-nr: [k'ál-k'ál]-víts '[side-side]-mountain (i.e. mountainsides)'
numr-cr: [xú-xú]-tšóp '[one-one]-kind (i.e. every kind)'
cr reduplicated-tr: [kóx-kóx]-tá '[layer-layer]-find (i.e. hunt with dogs)'
nums-cr: [tšán-láxun]-tšóp '[four-ten]-classifier of families (i.e. 14 families)'

(8) Compound plus radical:

sr reduplicated-ns: [tóx-tóx]-[tšám-el] '[straight-straight]-[act of dying] (i.e. die very quickly)'

10.4. Formation of Compound Radicals. A compound radical is a compound in construction with one or more derivational affixes.

An Intransitive compound radical is a noun compound in construction with an intransitivizing suffix Vx or van.

xóvil-k'óp-ox 'be delirious;' Cf. xóvil-k'óp 'foolish words'.
pán-mûkta-van 'take on the character of a spy;' Cf. pán-mûkta 'spy on someone'.

A Transitive compound radical is a noun compound in construction with a transitivizing suffix Vn or ta.

šón-xól-in 'use as a pillow;' Cf. šón-xól 'pillow'.
k'ûnil-k'óp-ta 'entreat;' Cf. k'ûnil-k'óp 'soft words'.

A Noun compound radical is a noun compound in construction with a nominalizing suffix Il or Al.

t'šûk-t'šût-il 'belt for men (unpossessed);' Cf. t'šûk-t'šût 'belt for men (possessed).'
tsó?-mût-al as in tsó?-mûtal-?ĭtš 'a kind of pepper;' Cf. tsó?-mût 'bird dung'.

A Stative compound radical is composed of the stativizing suffix tik or an and either two roots of different classes or a reduplicated root.

?ĭk'-lûm-an 'very early in the morning;' Cf. ?ĭk' 'black' and lûm 'ground'.
bé-bé-tik 'a place of many trails;' Cf. bé 'trail, road'.
k'ón-k'ón-tik 'it is yellowish;' Cf. k'ón 'yellow'.

10.5-10.9. Derivational Suffixes

No attempt is made here to give a strict distributional statement of derivational affixes. Though Huixtec presents a very fascinating problem in stem derivation, only a very tentative and general outline of the system can be given.

An interesting problem for further study (which would require comparative data from related Mayan languages) would be to see if roots can be shown to have (in general) a CVC structure in terms of phonological realization. Many forms realized as CVCVC and CVCCVC have been analyzed in this

study as roots for lack of convincing evidence to the contrary, but it is suspected that further study (and further data) might reveal the last -VC or -CVC of such roots to be (at least in some historical sense) derivational in nature. The reader will note that almost all derivational affixes have the form -VC, and that a great many roots have the form CVC. A few affixes with form -CVC are easily conceived as a reduction of -VC + -VC.

Derivational affixes fall into four broad classes as defined by the class of radicals of which they are the outermost layer of derivation, and corresponding to the four classes of inflection. Thus, if a radical is constituted of a root followed by three derivational suffixes (not uncommon in Huixtec), the last (right-hand-most) suffix determines the possible syntactic functions of the radical, and the type of inflection which may occur. The four classes are: intransitivizer, transitivizer, stativizer, and nominalizer. The affixes are listed and illustrated below with a general statement of the classes of constituents with which they may occur in construction. In some cases, it is possible to assign a lexical value to a particular derivational affix, in other cases not.

Derivational affixes not accounted for in this classification have been introduced above (2.3-2.6) without mentioning their derivational nature. The morphemes in question are PERF, REF, PASS, and SUBJN. They are considered derivational in that verbs formed with them may receive further derivational affixation, as in the following examples.

yâx-em-al 'wound;' Cf. yâx-em 'wounded'.
t'šûn-ox-el 'faith;' Cf. t'šûn-ox 'has believed'.
mêl-ts-am-b-el 'manufacture for someone;' Cf. mêl-ts-am-be 'make it for him'.
vó-b-il-al 'roasted (things);' Cf. vó-b-il 'roasted by someone'.
xûn-uk-al 'whichever one;' Cf. xûn-uk 'be it one'.

Apart from these, there are 29 class-changing suffixes and 8 non-class-changing affixes. They are presented below under the heads intransitivizing, transitivizing, stativizing, and nominalizing suffixes, and non-class-changing affixes.

10.5. Intransitivizing Suffixes. There are eight intransitivizing suffixes: van, Vx, Ub, Cun, et, i, Vn, and av. (Where V represents the affix vowel, it has not always been possible to determine the rules of occurrence of the various vowels. Where possible, a rule is given.)

(1) van 'characteristic mode' occurs with a large set of transitive roots (tr) and (derived) transitive verb stems (tvs) to form intransitive verb stems.

lûtšvan 'gore characteristically' from tr: lûtš 'gore it'
tšânubtasvan 'characteristically teach, be a teacher' from tvs: tšânubtas 'teach him'

(2) Vx seems to occur freely with roots and stems of almost all major classes to form intransitive stems. V is realized unpredictably as a, e, i, o, or u.

tákix '(to) dry' from ntr (shown with stativizer): tákin 'dry'
tšápax 'be taken care of, have affairs arranged by officials' from tr: tšáp 'roll it up (as rope)'
k'ópox 'talk' from nr: k'óp 'word, language'
tšúk'omax 'wash clothes' from ns (shown with possession): atšúk'om 'your washing of clothes'.
nátex 'grow tall, long' from sr: nát 'tall'
mé?munax 'meow (as cat)' from ivs: mé?mun 'characteristically meow'
tšfbax 'be two (as in two-hearted' from numr: tšfb 'two' as in tstšfbax yó?nton (his heart is two) 'he is doubting'

In some cases, the stem formed with Vx never occurs without at least one other suffix.

vá?axtik 'they are standing' from cr. (shown with numeral): tšá?vó? 'two bipeds' (vá? alternates with vó?).
váyaxtik 'they are asleep' from ir: váy 'sleep'
tšúkaxtik 'they are tied' from tr-nr: tšúk 'tie it, wool sash'
xóbelaxel 'one on his way to or from Las Casas' from nr: xóbel 'San Cristóbal Las Casas'

In some cases, the stem with which Vx occurs, does not itself occur alone. Such stems are indicated below by an asterisk (*). (The suffix tas loses its vowel when preceding Vx.)

xók'tsax 'be caused to be snagged, (e.g. on a thorn bush)' from *xók'tas; Cf. tvs: xók'-an 'hang it up.'

Stative stems occurring with Vx lose a vowel; transitive stems do not.

k'fšnax 'become warm' from svs: k'fšin 'warm'
tšfk'inax 'perspires' from *tšfk'in; Cf. nr (shown with possession): stšfk' 'his perspiration'.

Neutral stems occurring with Vx show vowel dissimilation, i occurring after back vowels of root, u after others.

bálṭ'šux 'roll over and over' from *bálṭ'š; Cf. tr: bál 'roll it up'.
púšk'ix 'double over itself' from *púšk'; Cf. tr: púš 'fold it'.

(3) Ub 'developmental' occurs with a large set of stative roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems. Most stems occurring with Ub show vowel dissimilation, i occurring after back vowels of stem, u after others. When the stem vowel is o, however, the suffix vowel is also o.

p'ɬxub 'become wise' from sr: p'ɬx 'wise'.
kúšib '(to) rust, mold' from nr: kúš 'rust, mold'.
mé?elub 'become old (of women)' from ss: mé?el 'old (of women)'
šókob 'be unoccupied' from ntr (shown with stativizer): šókol 'empty, unoccupied'.

In some constructions the stem formed with Ub never occurs without at least one other suffix following.

váyubtas 'put him to sleep' from ivs: *váyub; Cf. ir: váy 'sleep'.
tšánubtas 'teach him' from ivs: *tšánub; Cf. tr: tšán 'learn it'.

(4) Cun 'characteristic motion or sound' occurs with a large set of neutral roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems. C is a reduplication of the initial consonant of the root.

mékmun 'walk with a limp' from ntr. (shown with stativizer): mékan 'lame'
lá?lun 'characteristically bend (as boards when being carried)' from tr: lá? 'bend it (as a board)'.
p'ɬtp'un 'go leaping along' from ir: p'ɬt 'jump'.
kótkun 'characteristically move on more than two legs (as airplane, car, horse, etc.)' from cr (shown with stativizer): kótol 'standing on more than two legs'.

(5) et 'characteristic state or sound' occurs with a large set of neutral roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems.

k'ɬšet 'be characteristically warm (as day when sun shines)' from ntr (shown with stativizer): k'ɬšin 'warm'
kɬlet 'characteristically drag (as body of snake)' from tr: kɬl 'drag it'
kótet 'characteristically stand on more than two legs' from cr (shown with stativizer): kótol 'standing on more than two legs'

xámet 'characteristically be open (as landscape when weather is clear)' from i-t-nr: xám 'open, open it, meaning'

(6) i 'characteristic stance' occurs with a set of neutral roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems.

náki 'sit down, live in a place' from ntr (shown with stativizer): nákal 'seated, at home'.
vá?i 'stand up' from cr (shown with stativizer): vá?al 'standing as a biped'.
páti 'lie (back up) face down' from nr (with possession): apát 'your back'.

(7) Vn occurs with a small set of noun roots and a few neutral and transitive roots to form intransitive stems. V is realized as a, i, or u.

kábin 'urinate' from nr (with possession): skáb 'his urine'.
tsé?in 'laugh, smile' from ntr (shown with nominalizer): tsé?ex 'laughter'.
núpun 'be married' from tr: núp 'meet her'.

(8) av occurs with a small set of transitive roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems.

xálav 'weave' from tr: xál 'weave it'.
múlav 'commit adultery' from nr (shown with possession): smúl 'his fault, error, sin'.
k'éšav 'be ashamed, embarrassed' from tr: k'éš 'exchange it'.

The suffix av occasionally occurs with Vx without any notable change in meaning. The vowel of av is affected unpredictably.

tšaxálav or tšaxálovax 'you are weaving'.
imúlav or imúlivax 'he committed adultery'.

10.6. Transitivizing Suffixes. There are five transitivizing suffixes: Vn, es, tas, ta, and V.

(9) Vn occurs with large sets of neutral and noun roots and with a few roots and stems of almost all major classes to form transitive stems. V is realized as a, i, o, or u.

nákan 'seat him' from ntr (shown with stativizer): nákal 'seated'.
k'ópon 'talk to him' from nr: k'óp 'word, language'.
pák'an 'mend it' from tr: pák' 'mud it (as walls of a house)'
bûsan 'pile it up' from cr (shown with stativizer): bûsul 'in a pile'.
ʔáxvalin 'use him as boss, make him boss' from ns (shown with possession): káxval 'my boss'
tásin 'use it as padding' from t-nr (shown with noun possession): atás 'your padding for carrying loads'.
k'ûšubin 'take care of him, pity him' from ivs: k'ûšub 'become sore'.

In some constructions the stem with which Vn occurs, never occurs alone. Stems formed with tas 'transitive causative' lose the vowel of this stem formative with resulting cluster occurring at the end of the first syllable of the stem.

méltsan 'repair it, make it' from *méltas; Cf. cr (with stativizer): mélel 'it is true'.

Neutral stems occurring with Vn show vowel dissimilation, i occurring after back vowels of root, u after others.

bált'šun 'roll it over and over' from *bált'š; Cf. tr: bál 'roll it up'.
xélp'un 'hang it over the shoulder' from *xélp'; Cf. tr: xél 'change it'.
bûsk'in 'throw down in a pile (as beans)' from *bûsk'; Cf. cr: bûs 'a pile'.

(10) es 'transitive causative' occurs with a large set of intransitive roots and (derived) intransitive stems and a few roots of other classes to form transitive stems.

lók'es 'take it out' from ir: lók' '(to) exit'.
nópexes 'make it approach' from ivs: nópex 'approach'.
nóxes 'fill it' from sr: nóx 'full'.
p'óles 'increase it (as flock of chickens)' from i-nr: p'ól 'increase'.
kûses 'cause to live' from ntr (shown with stativizer): kûšul 'alive'.

(11) tas 'transitive causative' occurs with a set of (derived) intransitive stems and with a few neutral and noun roots and (derived) noun stems to form transitive stems.

lékubtas 'make it become good' from ivs: lékub 'become good'.

t'šůltas 'bless it' from ntr (shown with nominalizer and possession): at'šůlel 'your soul'.
nft'šontas 'cause him to become one's son' from nr (shown with noun possession): anft'šon 'your son'.
bfiltas 'name him' from ns: bfil (a name'.

(12) ta occurs with intransitive, noun and neutral roots and (derived) stems to form transitive stems.

póšta 'give him medicine' from nr: póš 'liquor'
kólta 'help him' from ir: kól 'be freed'
?flinta 'hate him' from ivs: ?flin 'become angry'
?ávta 'shout at him' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): ?ávan 'shout, holler'
bóxta 'blood-let him' from tr: bóx 'cut it'
ló?ilta 'relate it (as a story)' from ns: ló?il 'a story, tale'
k'éšta 'replace it' from tr: k'éš 'exchange it'

(13) V occurs with a few roots and stems to form transitive stems. V is realized as i, u, or a.

t'sfba 'write it' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): t'sfbax 'write'
tšápa 'arrange it (a matter)' from tr: tšáp 'roll it up (as rope)'
túki 'scatter it (as corn)' from ir: túk 'broke out (as measles)'

In some constructions with V, there is a change of stem vowel.

náu 'spin it (as wool)' from nr: nó 'thread'

In some constructions with V, there is a loss of stem vowel.

k'fšna 'warm it' from svs: k'fšin 'warm'
ló?la 'deceive him' from ns: ló?il 'a story, tale'

10.7. Stativizing Suffixes. There are four stativizing suffixes: tik, ROOT, Vn, and um.

(14) tik, sometimes with the meaning of 'it's a place of', occurs with a large set of intransitive (derived) stems, a large set of stative roots, and a

few noun and stative stems to form stative stems. The intransitive stems which occur with this suffix never occur alone.

nákaxtik 'they are sitting down' from ivs: *nákax; Cf. ivs: nák-i.
tê?tik 'a place of trees, a forest' from nr: tê? 'tree, stick'
?ák'ubaltik 'darkness' from ns: ?ák'ubal 'night'
nómtik 'few and far between, rare' from sr: nóm 'far'

Stative stems which occur with this suffix are formed by reduplication of the root. This reduplicated form never occurs alone.

sáksáktik 'whitish' (from svs: sák 'white')

(15) A ROOT is a reduplication of the root, and occurs with stative and classifier roots to form stative stems.

k'ûnk'ûn 'slowly' from k'ûn 'soft'
mélmél 'one after another' from cr (shown with numeral): xmél 'one trip (as carrying water)'

(16) Vn occurs with a few transitive, intransitive, neutral and noun roots to form stative stems. V is realized as e, i, o, or u.

?ápun 'carbuncle' from ir: ?áp 'crack (as a mud wall)'
tákin 'dry' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): tákix '(to) dry'

Three vocative statives are formed with Vn:

bólin 'brother-in-law (of man)' from nr: ból 'brother-in-law (of man)'
vîšin 'older sister' from nr: vîš 'older sister'
mû?in 'sister-in-law (of man), brother-in-law (of woman)' from nr: mû? 'sister-in-law(of man), brother-in-law (of woman)'

(17) um occurs with a few transitive roots to form stative stems.

t'ûxum 'pretty' from tr: t'ûx 'choose it'

10.8. Nominalizing Suffixes. There are twelve nominalizing suffixes: Al, al, Il, el, Ob, Ex, Om, ol, et, i, itš, it'š.

(18) Al occurs with almost all optionally possessed noun roots with the meaning of impersonal possession. It also occurs with almost all numerals and a large set of stative roots as well as roots of other classes to form noun stems. A is realized as a, e, i, o, or u.

tšének'ul from nr: tšének' 'beans' as in
stšének'ul tšóbtik 'the cornfield's beans (unharvested beans)'
tšének'ul-vâx 'bean tamales'
tótilal from ns: tótil 'the chief one' as in
stótilal k'in 'the fiesta's chief one'
tšá?vá?al from num: tšá?vó? 'two people' as in
stšá?vá?al vĩniketik (their two-personness the men) 'the two of the men'
atšá?vá?al-mé? (your two-personness-mother) 'your stepmother'
p'ĩxil 'wisdom' from sr: p'ĩx 'wise'
vĩ?nal 'hunger' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): vĩ?nax 'be hungry'
xámalil 'width' from svs: xámal 'wide'

With some intransitive verb stems there is a change of vowel.

?ák'ubal 'night' from ivs: ?ĩk'ub 'become dark'

(19) al occurs with almost all optionally possessed noun roots, all personal names as well as some noun and stative stems to form noun stems. Noun stems so formed may be the subject of an interrogative clause.

té?al from nr: té? 'tree, stick' as in k'úsi té?al 'which tree, stick'
tšámelal from ns: tšámel 'sickness' as in k'úsuk no?oš tšámelal 'whatever sickness'
x?ántrešal from ns: x?ántreš 'Andrew' as in mût'šu x?ántrešal 'which Andrew'
ból-k'ópal from nc: ból-k'óp (ignorant words) 'profane language' as in
k'úsi bólk'ópal 'which profane language'
xúnukal from svs: xúnuk 'any one' as in bú xúnukal 'which one'

(20) Il, with the meaning of unpossession occurs with all obligatorily possessed noun roots, with a few roots of other classes and some noun compounds describing sickness to form noun stems.

k'ú?il 'a dress, blouse, shirt' from nr (with inflection): ak'ú? 'your dress, blouse, shirt'
t'šáyil 'smoke' from i-tr: t'šáy 'lose, lose it'

k'ûš-t'šût-il 'stomach ache' from sr: k'ûš 'it hurts' plus t'šût 'abdomen' plus nominalizer

When some stative roots combine with Il there is a change of vowel.

mâlal 'husband' from sr: môl 'he is old'

(21) el, with the meaning of 'act of', occurs with all transitive roots and radicals, with or without referent, with most intransitive roots and a few intransitive radicals to form noun stems.

k'ûšubinel 'act of pitying him, taking care of him' from tvs: k'ûšubin 'pity him, take care of him'
kápel 'act of mixing it' from tr: káp 'mix it'
tšûkbel 'act of tying it for him' from tr. with referent: tšûkbe 'tie it for him'
tšĭ?imbel 'act of accompanying him for her' from tvs. with referent: tši?imbe 'accompany him for her'
mûel 'act of ascending' from ir: mû 'ascend'
t'sĭsomaxel 'act of sewing' from ivs: t'sĭsomax 'sew'

(22) Ob, with meaning of 'instrument' or 'place of' occurs with a large set of transitive roots and a few roots and radicals of other classes to form noun stems. O is realized as a, e, o, or u.

pásob 'instrument for making' from tr: pás 'do, make' as in pásob-vâx 'a press for making tortillas'
váyeb 'place for sleeping, bed' from ir: váy 'sleep'
xóyob from ntr 'shown with stativizer): xóyol 'encircling' as in xóyob-nâ 'a building built around a central patio'
púkub from i-tr: pûk 'scatter (it)' as in púkub-tán 'dish used for mixing lime with water (for use in cooking corn)'

When stative verb stems occur with Ob the final stem vowel is lost.

nákleb 'place of sitting, a seat' from svs: nákal 'he is seated'

Ob occurs with some transitive verb stems which never occur alone.

k'áxaneb 'harvesting instrument' from tvs: k'áxan; Cf. tr k'áx 'harvest it'

as in k'áxaneb-tê? 'piece of bone used for cutting open cornhusks when harvesting'

(23) Ex, with the meaning of 'customary or habitual act', occurs with a few stative and intransitive stems and a few roots of various classes to form noun stems. E is realized as e or o.

kóltavanex 'act of habitually helping' from ivs: kóltavan 'be habitually helpful'
tsê?ex 'laughter' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): tsê?in 'laugh'
tšábiex 'customary act of taking care of' from tvs: tšábi 'take care of it'
as in x-tšábiex-prêšu (one who customarily takes care of a jail) 'a jailer'
k'áxox 'customary act of harvesting' from tr: k'áx 'harvest it'

When stative verb stems occur with Ex, the final stem vowel is lost.

náklex 'act of living with in-laws as part of marriage contract' from svs: nákal 'be at home, sit down'

Some constructions formed by the occurrence of Ex do not occur alone. The final vowel of the stative stem is lost on the occurrence of Ex.

xóylex from svs: xóyol 'encircling' as in sxóylexal balumil (its encircling the world) 'all around the world'

(24) Om, with meaning of 'act' or 'process', occurs with a few roots and stems of various classes to form noun stems. O is realized as i, o, or u.

tšûk'om 'washing of clothes' from tr: tšûk' 'wash it (clothes)'
sûtum 'act of returning' from ir: sût 'return' as in sûtum-?ik' 'whirlwind'
t'sîbaxom 'act of writing' from ivs: t'sîbax 'write'

When Om occurs with some transitive stems, there is a loss of vowel.

?îkatsnom 'act of carrying loads' from tvs: ?îkatsin 'carry it as a load'

Constructions formed with neutral roots and Om do not occur alone, but occur with intransitivizers to form intransitive stems.

ʔâtisim 'act of sneezing' as in ivs: ʔâtisimax 'sneeze'

(25) ol, with the meaning of 'act of', occurs with a very few intransitive roots to form noun stems. All these roots have the shape CVC plus in, with the final n becoming m before ol.

ʔâtimol 'bathing' from ir: ʔâtin 'bathe'
tâximol 'game, play' from ir: tâxin 'play'

(26) et occurs with two roots to form noun stems.

póket 'clay basin used for washing hands' from tr: pók 'wash it (a part of the body)'
k'ák'et 'a burn' from ir: k'ák' 'burn itself'

(27) i occurs with a very few neutral roots to form noun stems.

tâki 'dryness' from ntr (shown with stativizer): tâkin 'dry' as in tâki-tɬʔil (dryness-opening) 'thirst'

(28) itš occurs with a very few roots to form noun stems.

vâyitš 'a dream' from ir: vây 'sleep'

(29) it'š occurs with a very few roots to form noun stems.

xɬmit'š 'a native slingshot' from tr: xɬm 'throw it'

10.9. Non-class-changing Affixes. There are eight affixes which are not class changers and therefore are not included in the preceding section. These affixes which add other meaning to the stem, do not come under what is usually considered as inflection, and so are mentioned in this special section. There are five suffixes: ilan, an, t'š, p', k'; and three prefixes, x/ax, x, and š.

(1) ilan, with the meaning of 'repeated action', occurs with almost all transitive, intransitive, and transitive passive stems.

k'élilan 'repeatedly look at it' from tvs: k'él 'look at it'
bátilan 'repeatedly go' from ivs: bát 'go'
k'ánilambat 'be repeatedly asked for it' from tps: k'ámbat 'be asked for it'

(2) an, with the meaning of 'multiple action of the same kind', occurs with transitive roots, and intransitive stems derived with Vx. When an occurs with transitive roots, the stem so formed may occur reduplicated.

mílan 'do a lot of killing of them' from tvs: míl 'kill it' (NM390)
máxanmáxan 'do a lot of hitting of them' from tvs: máx 'hit him'

On the occurrence of an with intransitive stems, there is a vowel change.

lêblaxan 'blink (as stars, lights of a distant city, or fireflies)' from ivs:
lêblex 'flash (as lightning, fireworks)'

(3) t'š, with the meaning of 'rolling over motion', has been found to occur with a very few transitive roots forming a neutral stem. The derivational suffix which follows this affix determines the class of the stem, whether transitive or intransitive.

bálť'šun 'roll it over and over (as a large stone)' and
bálť'šux 'roll over and over (as a rock down the mountain)' from *bálť'š;
Cf. tr: bál 'roll it up (as a grass mat)'

(4) p', with the meaning of 'revolving motion', occurs with a very small set of transitive, intransitive and neutral roots forming neutral stems. The derivational suffix which follows this affix determines the stem class, whether transitive or intransitive.

xélp'un 'carry it slung from the shoulder (as a woven bag or gun)' from
*xélp'; Cf. tr: xél 'change it'
xóyp'ix 'turn around' from *xóyp'; Cf. ntr 'shown with stativizer): xóyol
'be in a circle'
sútp'ix 'return in a round-about away' from *sútp'; Cf. ir: sút 'return'

(5) k', with the meaning of 'turning over motion', occurs with a very small set of transitive, neutral, classifier, and noun roots forming neutral stems. The derivational suffix which follows this affix determines the stem class.

pûšk'in 'bend it over (as a nail)' and pûšk'ix 'double over itself' from *pûšk'; Cf. tr: pûš 'fold it over'
válk'un 'turn it over (as the page of a book)' and válk'ux 'turn over by itself (as the page of a book)' from *válk'; Cf. ntr: vál (meaning unknown)
bûsk'in 'throw it down in a pile (as money, beans)' from *bûsk'; Cf. cr (shown with numeral): tšá?bûs 'two piles (of beans, money, corn, etc.)'
pátk'ux 'fall in (as wall of a house)' from *pátk'; Cf. nr (shown with possession): apát 'your back'

(6) x/ax occurs with a small set of noun stems and a few noun roots to form 'agentive' noun stems. When preceded by a pronoun, it has the form ax.

x?ábtel 'a worker,' from ns: ?ábtel 'work'
kax?ábtel 'my hired help'
xtšónolaxel 'one who habitaully sells' from ns: tšónolaxel 'act of habitually selling'
x?élek' 'a thief' from nr: ?élek' 'act of stealing'
xpás-résal 'a cantor in the Catholic church' from nc: pás-résal 'act of reciting prayers'

(7) and (8) There are two non-class-changing prefixes which are gender remnants and occur with names; x occurs with all men's names, š with all women's names.

xpétul 'Peter'
x?ántreš 'Andrew'
šlél 'Manuela'
špét 'Petrona'

MORPHOPHONEMICS

Two kinds of morphophonemes are dealt with in this paper: The realization of morphemes as strings of morphophonemes, and then the realization of morphophonemes as strings of phonemes. The first type of realization has been dealt with throughout the study in the presentation of individual morphemes; the second type is discussed in this chapter.

The statements given below have been worked out principally in the analysis of the Tzotzil verb phrase. This being the case, they are incomplete; and, in particular, closer attention to derivational affixes will require further clarification of the situation.

Only those statements are made which involve diverse (non-one-to-one) realizations of morphophonemes. The environments which are stated as relevant to particular realizations are morphophonemic environments. The statements are not ordered except in the case of a series of statements concerning a single morphophoneme. In short, the statements are of a 'stratificational' variety.

Any consonant morphophoneme except b is elided when preceding itself.

INCOMPL-FIRST-k'ót-PL 'we (excl) will arrive,' tš-i-k'ó[t]-tutik, tšik'ó-[Ø]tutik, tšik'otutik.
INCOMPL-THIRD-šén 'he is vomiting,' t[š]-Ø-šén, t[Ø]šén, tšén.
tsób-REF-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been gathered,' tsó[b]-be-Rl-Ø-Ø, tsó[b]bØil, tsóbbil.

The morphophoneme y is realized phonemically as the null element after š within the syllable, as well as before š or s.

INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-ʔák'-THIRD 'he will give it,' tš-Ø-[y]-ʔák'-Ø, tš[Ø]Øák', tšák'.
COMPL-lâx-THIRD-šókobtas-SUBJN-THIRD 'he emptied it,' Ø-lâx-[y]-šókobtas-Ø-Ø, lâx[Ø]šókobtas, lâx šókobtas.
INCOMPL-FIRST-THIRD-sáʔ-FIRST 'she is looking for me,' tš-i-[y]-sáʔ-un, tši[Ø]sáʔun, tšisáʔun.

Otherwise, morphophonemes k, v, and y are realized phonemically as x, Ø (null), and s, respectively, when preceding a stressed syllable beginning with any consonant except ʔ.

FIRST-mân-PERF-THIRD 'I have bought it,' [k]-mân-ox-Ø, [x]mânox.
SECOND-tót 'your father,' a[v]-tót, a[Ø]tót, atót.
THIRD-p'ĭs-PERF-THIRD 'he has measured it,' [y]-p'ĭs-ox-Ø, [s]p'ĭsox.

In all other environments, the morphophonemes k, v, and y are realized as the phonemes k, v, and y.

FIRST-?ák'-PERF-THIRD 'I have given it,' [k]-?ák'-ox-Ø, [k]Øák'ox, kák'ox.
SECOND-ĭtš 'your chile,' a[v]-?ĭtš, a[v]ØĭtŠ, avĭtš.
THIRD-?ól 'her child,' [y]-?ól, [y]Øól, yól.

The morphophoneme ? is realized phonemically as the null element following k, v, or y, or preceding any two consonants which do not include ?; otherwise, it is realized phonemically as ?.

FIRST-?ál-PERF-REF-THIRD 'I have told her,' k-[?]ál-ox-be-Ø, k[Ø]áloxbe, káloxbe.
COMPL-láx-SECOND-?á?i-SUBJN-THIRD 'you heard it,' Ø-láx-av-[?]á?i-Ø-Ø, láxav[Ø]á?i, láx avá?i.
COMPL-THIRD-THIRD-?ĭl-THIRD 'he saw him,' i-Ø-y-[?]ĭl-Ø, iy[Ø]ĭl, iyĭl.
tál-INCL-t'šún-SUBJN-PL-THIRD 'Come, let's believe it,' lá[?]-k-t'šún-Ø-tik-Ø, lá[Ø]xt'šúntik, lá xt'šúntik.
COMPL-FIRST-?ótš 'I entered,' n-i-[?]ótš, ni[?]ótš.

The morphophoneme š is realized as s when preceding t or t' followed by s or š, and when otherwise preceding stress group final s noncontiguously within the stress group.

TLESS-THIRD-tsé?in 'he laughs,' [š]-Ø-tsé?in, [s]tsé?in.
TLESS-THIRD-t'sĭbax 'he writes,' [š]-Ø-t'sĭbax, [s]t'sĭbax.
TLESS-THIRD-t'šĭ 'he grows,' [š]-Ø-t'šĭ, [s]t'šĭ.
TLESS-THIRD-láts 'it stacks up,' [š]-Ø-láts, [s]láts.
TLESS-THIRD-k'ás 'it breaks,' [š]-Ø-k'ás, [s]k'ás.

š is realized phonemically as i when following t and preceding k plus any consonant except ?.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-tá-THIRD 'I'll find it,' t[š]-Ø-k-tá-Ø, t[i]xtá.
INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-k'él-THIRD 'I'll look at it,' t[š]-Ø-k-k'él-Ø, t[i]xk'él.

š is realized as the null element before any two consonants which do not include glottal.

INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-pán-THIRD 'she is boiling it,' t[š]-Ø-y-pán-Ø, t[Ø]spán, tspán.
INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-nóp-THIRD 'he will think about it,' t[š]-Ø-y-nóp-Ø, t[Ø]snóp, tsnóp.

Otherwise, š is realized phonemically as š.

INCOMPL-SECOND-ʔátin 'you are bathing,' t[š]-a-ʔátin, t[š]aʔátin.
INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-ʔák'-REF-THIRD 'I will give it to him,' t[š]-Ø-k-ʔák'-be-Ø, t[š]kØák'be, tškák'be.
INCOMPL-SECOND-šánav 'you will walk,' tš-a-[š]ánav, tša[š]ánav.
INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-šáš-THIRD 'I will chew it,' tš-Ø-k-[š]á[š]-Ø, tix[š]á[š].

The morphophoneme R, a chameleon vowel, takes the value of a preceding stressed vowel, unless an unstressed vowel intervenes. In the latter case, R is realized as i.

pák'-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is stuck on,' pák'-[R]l-Ø-Ø, pák'[a]l.
lútš-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is roosting,' lútš-[R]l-Ø-Ø, lútš[u]l.
pák'-REF-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been stuck on,' pák'-be-[R]l-Ø, pák'bØ[i]l, pák'bil.
kómes-REF-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I have been left behind,' kómes-be-[R]l-un, kómesbØ[i]lun, kómesbilun.

The morphophoneme U is realized as u when preceding ku or ko, or following ot, and as i elsewhere. Its function is marginal, in that it only occurs in the realization of one morpheme—Uk (plural)—and ot, ku, and ko also represent extremely limited morphemic environments. The alternative, however, is to introduce Uk as uk~ik. The present solution seems the lesser of the two evils.

COMPL-láx-THIRD-ʔɬ-SUBJN-PL-FIRST 'they saw me,' Ø-láx-y-ʔɬ-Ø-[U]kún, láxyØɬ[u]kun, láx yɬukun.
COMPL-láx-THIRD-ʔɬ-SUBJN-PL-SECOND 'they saw you,' Ø-láx-y-ʔɬ-Ø-[U]k-ot, láxyØɬ[u]kot, láx yɬukot.
COMPL-láx-THIRD-ʔɬ-SUBJN-SECOND-PL 'he saw you (pl),' Ø-láx-y-ʔɬ-Ø-ot-[U]k, láxyØɬošk, láx yɬošuk.

COMPL-láx-THIRD-ʔɪl-SUBJN-PL-THIRD 'they saw him,' ø-láx-y-ʔɪl-ø-[U]k-ø, láxyøɪl[i]k, láx yɪlik.

When unstressed, the morphophoneme e is realized as phoneme e when preceding stress-group final Uk, whether or not o intervenes; and as the null element elsewhere before o, u, a, R, or Uk; otherwise it is realized as e.

COMPL-THIRD-THIRD-ʔál-REF-PL-THIRD 'they said it to him,' i-ø-y-ʔál-b[e]-Uk-ø, iyøálb[e]ik, iyálbeik.
mán-REF-IMPV-SECOND-PL 'buy it for him/them,' mán-b[e]-o-ø-Uk, mámb[e]øik, mámbeik.
COMPL-SECOND-THIRD-ʔál-REF-SECOND 'he said it to you,' n-a-y-ʔál-b[e]-ot, nayøálb[ø]ot, nayálbot.
mú-THIRD-FIRST-tšón-PERF-REF-SUBJN-THIRD 'I have not sold it for him,' mú-ø-k-tšón-ox-b[e]-uk-ø, múxtšónoxb[ø]uk, mú xtšónoxbuk.
COMPL-FIRST-ʔál-REF-PASS 'I was told,' n-i-ʔál-b[e]-at, niʔálbø]at, niʔálbat.
pás-REF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been made,' pás-b[e]-Rl-ø, pásb[ø]il, pásbil.
COMPL-SECOND-THIRD-ʔál-REF-PL-SECOND 'they said it to you,' n-a-y-ʔál-b[e]-Uk-ot, nayøálb[ø]ukot, nayálbukot.
tál-PERF-THIRD 'he has come,' tál-em-ø, tálem.

When unstressed, the morphophoneme o is realized as the null element before U, u, and a; otherwise, it is realized as o.

SECOND-ʔál-REF-IMPV-PL 'Say (you pl) it to him,' ø-ʔál-be-[o]-Uk, ʔálbe[ø]ik, ʔálbeik.
SECOND-pás-REF-IMPV-FIRST 'Do it for me,' ø-pás-be-[o]-un, pásbø[ø]-un, pásbun.
bát-IMPV-SECOND 'Go!' bát-[o]-an, bát[ø]an, bátan.

When unstressed, the morphophoneme i is realized as the null element before a or u; otherwise, it is realized as i.

INCOMPL-FIRST-SECOND-tá-FIRST 'you will find me,' tš-[i]-av-tá-un, tš[ø]aøtáun, tšatáun.
COMPL-FIRST-SECOND-ʔák'-REF-FIRST 'you gave it to me,' n-[i]-av-ʔák'-be-un, n[ø]avøák'bøun, navák'bun.
COMPL-THIRD-ʔátin 'he bathed,' [i]-ø-ʔát[i]n, [i]ʔát[i]n.

There are a few derived verb stems which end in the vowel i like tšábi

'take care of.' This vowel is a derivational suffix and though unstressed is not elided before another vowel.

COMPL-FIRST-tšáb[i]-PASS 'I was taken care of,' n-i-tšáb[i]-at, nitšábiat,
COMPL-INCL-t'ûš[i]-PL 'we got wet,' n-ix-t'ûš[i]-ukutik, nixt'ûšiukutik.

This might best be accounted for by postulating the loss of a consonant after i, since most derivational suffixes have the form VC.

When unstressed the morphophoneme u is realized as the null element following u; otherwise it is realized as u.

bû-PERF-SUBJN-THIRD 'it be where,' bû-ø-[u]k-ø, bû[ø]k, bûk.
mût'šu-PERF-SUBJN-THIRD 'it be who,' mût'šu-ø-[u]k-ø, mût'šu[ø]k, mût'šuk.

The morphophoneme t is realized as š before U; otherwise it is realized as t.

INCOMPL-SECOND-THIRD-ták-REF-SECOND-PL 'he will send it for you (pl),' tš-a-y-ták-be-o[t]-Uk, tšastákbøo[š]uk, tšastákbošuk.
kól-PERF-SECOND-PL 'you (pl) have become free,' kól-em-o[t]-Uk, kólemo[š]uk.

The morphophoneme x is realized as the null element before any two consonants and when preceded by an unstressed vowel and followed by a stressed vowel; otherwise it is realized as x.

INCOMPL-INCL-THIRD-máx-PL 'they hit us (incl),' tš-i[x]-y-máx-ukutik, tši[ø]smáxukutik, tšismáxukutik.
COMPL-SECOND-xûl 'you arrived home,' n-a-[x]ûl, na[ø]ûl, naûl.

The morphophoneme n is realized as m before b; otherwise it is realized as n.

INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-pán-REF-THIRD 'she is boiling it for him,' tš-ø-y-pá[n]-be-ø, tøspá[m]be, tspámbe.
COMPL-láx-SECOND-bón-REF-SUBJN-FIRST 'you painted it for me,' ø-láx-av-bó[n]-be-ø-un, láxaøbó[m]bøun, láx abómbun.

The morphophoneme m is realized as n when preceded by V́mV; otherwise it is realized as m.

tšám-PERF-THIRD 'he has died,' tšám-e[m]-Ø, tšáme[n].
t'óm-PERF-THIRD 'it has exploded,' t'óm-e[m]-Ø, t'óme[n].

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